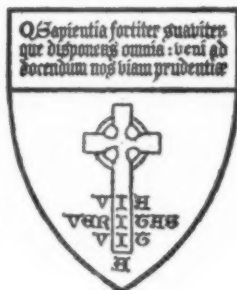


Anglican Theological Review



EDITED BY

FREDERICK C. GRANT and BURTON S. EASTON

FOUNDED BY SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

VOLUME XXVI

OCTOBER, 1944

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PATRIARCH NIKON AND THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

By RICHARD SALOMON

Bexley Hall, Kenyon College

The events which are to be told in this sketch have a strangely medieval flavor, at least for the Westerner not especially familiar with older Russian history. Yet they happened in a period which in the treatment of Western history belongs to the Modern Age. The central figure is a contemporary of Cromwell, Louis XIV and Descartes; but there is nothing to be told here that would bring this coincidence in time to the reader's mind. The seventeenth century hardly shows any connection between the West and the East of Europe. Moscow, then, was farther from Paris than Sydney is today; and "Muscovy," according to the ideas of Westerners, was a half-savage country, which only a few foreigners dared to enter, if they could. It was a bold adventure which a German political agent by the name of Olearius undertook in the 1630's, when he travelled through Russia and farther Southeast. It is characteristic of the situation that the bulky book in which he reported his observations and experiences dealt with Russia and Persia in an equal way; they were oriental countries both of

them. And who in Europe, besides a handful of scholars, ploughed through the six hundred pages of Olearius' work? Or who read the booklet which an English doctor, Samuel Collins, wrote after having been a court physician in Moscow for nine years: "On the Present State of Muscovy" (1665)? When at the end of the century Pierre Bayle wrote his *Dictionary*, the storehouse of information for the educated Westerner, he mentioned "Muscovy" just once in a note quoting a worthless anecdote.

The Russians themselves were equally ignorant of Europe. Off and on a Russian embassy would be sent to the Western courts. A strange company in long oriental furs, with long beards and uncouth manners, they would be as outlandish among European cavaliers as Chinese or Indians—"Double Turks" as Leibniz called them. The reports they sent home show how thoroughly unable they were to understand European ways of life.

There was an invisible wall between Russia and the West. They represented two different worlds, two different ages of civilization.

True, a few Westerners lived in Muscovy. German, Dutch and English merchants came to the only northern port of Russia, to Archangelsk and stayed there for longer or shorter terms. The city of Moscow had a small colony of permanent European settlers: artisans, technicians and military experts whom the backward country needed for material purposes; but they lived by themselves in a kind of Ghetto, the "German Suburb," with schools and churches of their own; and the orthodox Russian avoided with superstitious fear the pestiferous contact with these heretics if he could possibly do so. No Russian subject was allowed to leave the country as a private traveller and to have a look at the reprobate world of Protestants or Roman Catholics. Holy Russia lived for herself, for her religion, for the only true Church, and kept clear of any infection by heresy; and even the brothers in belief, the Greeks under Turkish domination, were regarded with a certain mistrust.

What was the reason for this aloofness? Why did the Russians, ethnographically belonging to Europe, closely related to European nations like the Poles and Czechs, keep out of the great unity which, in spite of warfare and permanent conflicts, bound the Western nations together in a common inheritance of cultural traditions?

The reason is that civilization, in the only form possible in the Middle Ages, i.e. Christianization, was brought to Russia not from Rome but from Constantinople, from the Greek world. Russian Christianity is a child, and a comparatively young one, of the Greek church, born only when the split between East and West, between Constantinople

and Rome had already become definitive and incurable.

All Western nations went through the same process of being educated by the Latin church, and thus inherited the traditions of Latin, Roman civilization. The Russians remained outside. They were missionized by the Greeks; and the Greeks as missionaries were better than the Romans in one sense and worse in another. The Greek Church never was a close-knit unit like the Roman one. It had no pope, no single head; the Patriarch of Constantinople enjoyed only a primacy of honor among the other patriarchs, those of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria. Furthermore, the Greek Church lacks that element of unity in language which bound Western Christendom together, which allowed the Frenchman to feel at home in an English church and the Spaniard in Italy. The Greek church allowed and even fostered services in the language of each country. The first gift of Greek missionaries was translated texts of Bible and prayer; and in a sense this is an advantage: the missionized people learned to write their own language and produced a national literature at a time when the West still dabbled more or less successfully with the universal Latin. On the other hand, however, the admittance of the national languages was a disadvantage: it excluded the neophytes from that inheritance of classic tradition which the Roman Church, as a teaching institution, bestowed on its children everywhere. Thus the Greek-missionized people remained poorer in the final result; they had no opportunity to acquire the Greek tradition, and consequently became narrower, more provincial than the Westerners.

Russia remained under the ecclesiastical custodianship of the Greeks for some centuries after the beginnings of the mission (about 1000 A.D.). The Russian Church was organized as a branch of the Greek Mother-Church. Her bishops, Greeks for the most part, appointed by Constantinople, took care to educate the new Christians strictly after their own image. The Greek dogma, as codified by John of Damascus in the 8th century and rigidly conserved ever since, became the backbone of the new church, the ritual was carefully copied from the Greek, and religious thought was directed into the tracks of the Orthodox tradition. In the Greek school the Russians early learned to mistrust and to hate Rome and the Latin heretics, although they never saw a Roman Catholic in the flesh and never saw a Latin book. All dogmas, traditions, opinions and prejudices of the Mother-Church were carefully grafted upon the new believers and naively owned by them.

As a political institution this Greco-Russian church is not to be underrated. As in Anglo-Saxon England, the church kept the nation together in centuries of political disunion and carried it even through the unique ordeal of two hundred years of foreign domination: through the age of the Tatar occupation of Russia from 1250 to about 1480. The monastery and, less impressively, the cathedral became the shelter and the center of Russian civilization.

Slowly a national emancipation began. Here and there, born Russians rose from the lower clergy and from the monasteries into the episcopate; and slowly, in the later centuries of the Middle Ages, the relation between the Greek Church and the Russian began to change

its character. The political power behind the Greek church, the Byzantine empire, was in hopeless decay and was doomed to perish some day under the attacks of the Turks. While Byzantium decreased, losing territory to the infidels, decade by decade, and finally shrank into a city state which comprised little more than the capital, Constantinople, a new Russia rose from the disaster of the Tatar invasion: a strong, aggressive state, developing, in an unparalleled growth, from the little colonial principality of Moscow into a vast empire.

The Grand-Prince of Moscow became the leader and afterwards the monarchic ruler of that huge territory, just as seven centuries before the kings of Wessex had assumed the kingship over all England.

For a while a traditional respect was still shown to the nominal head in Constantinople. The highest priest of Russia, the Metropolitan (= archbishop), took his residence in the new capital, Moscow, and for a century the Metropolitans of Moscow, mostly Russians by then, were appointed or at least confirmed by the rather powerless Patriarch. But unconditional acknowledgment of Greek superiority could no longer be expected from the Russians, who in four centuries had developed a Christian tradition of their own. The tendency clearly moved towards full autonomy or autocephaly, to apply the technical term.

Two events in the 15th century furthered this movement. In dire stress, facing annihilation of the Byzantine state by the Turks, the heads of the Greek church, the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Emperor, took the humiliating step of signing a capitulation to the hated Latins, the famous

Union of Eastern and Western Church, formulated under papal presidency at the council of Florence in 1439. They were disavowed at once by the Greek nation, if the populace of Constantinople can be called a nation: "better Turkish than Romish" was the slogan, and the union never became a fact. The Russians, however, safe from Turkish attacks and unable to understand the meaning of this measure of despair, never forgave the betrayal of the holy tradition which the Greek authorities had attempted at Florence; they were too well steeped in Eastern orthodoxy to make even the slightest concession. And henceforth a "holier-than-thou" attitude ruled the relation between Russian Christianity and its old Mother-Church. The pupil began to mistrust, to despise the master. In 1448 a new metropolitan of Moscow was appointed without asking for confirmation by the Patriarch. When the inevitable catastrophe came and Constantinople fell a prey to the Turks, when S. Sophia was desecrated and transformed into a mosque, the Russians did not think of rescue. They saw only divine justice in the fact, punishment for the treason of Florence. God himself had shown that he disapproved of the degenerate Greeks. The Turks in a very few years subdued the whole territory of Orthodox faith in the South: Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece. Of all Greek-Orthodox countries only one remained free, independent, powerful, looking forward to a great and glorious future: Russia. Could there be any doubt that this was a visible sign of God's grace, of God's being satisfied with the true religion of Holy Russia?

The Greeks, from that time on, were in the position of a poor relation to

Russia. Suppressed, though not persecuted outright by the Mohammedans, shorn of most of their worldly possessions, dependent in their position on the whims of the Sultan, who appointed and dismissed patriarchs as his predecessor, the Byzantine emperor, had done, they represented only a shadow of the former splendor; and for subsistence they often had to rely on the good graces of their happier brethren in Russia. The begging Greek bishop or even patriarch became a familiar feature in Moscow. Polite treatment, though not always guaranteed, helped them save their face and overlook the contempt which the Russians felt for this departed grandeur.

It is small wonder that under such conditions the ideas about Russia's special religious mission went sky-high. About 1500 we see a theory developed by Russian theologians which considered Moscow the new center of true Christian faith: Old Rome, so they explained, was rejected by God for her Latin heresy; New Rome, Constantinople, also erred in faith, at Florence, and was also rejected and left a prey to the infidel "Saracenes"; a Third Rome was now in their place and would be, world without end—Moscow. The Russian Tsar is the lawful successor of the Roman and the Greek Emperors. Religious mysticism put itself at the disposal of an unmystic policy of conquest and power.

Under these circumstances it is strange to see how long Russia hesitated to take the last step. It was only at the end of the 16th century, in 1589, that the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, visiting Russia, were asked to bestow the dignity of a Patriarch on the head of the Russian Church, the metropolitan of Moscow. The poor patriarchs—Jeremiah was the name of one of them

—understood that this demand was a command, and complied, the Tsar having picked the candidate, a Russian bishop with an equally significant name, Job.

The Greek patriarchs were wise enough to anticipate the agreement of the general synod of the Eastern churches. It was granted in due course in the following year, and the Synod justified the action as the restoration of the old holy number of five Patriarchates, Rome having excluded herself by heresy. The only face-saving measure they allowed themselves, not without causing some stir in Moscow, was to assign the new Patriarchate the fifth rank instead of the third after Constantinople and Alexandria which the Russians claimed. The Moscow patriarch should henceforth be elected—in approximately the same way in which English bishops are elected today—by the Russian metropolitans, which was the new title given to some important bishops; and only a notice was expected in Constantinople.

The Russian Church was ready, independent of any outside power, but not independent in Russia herself. She was organized in the Cæsaro-papistic way exactly as her Byzantine mother had been, dependent on the will of the Monarch. Cooperation between the head of the State and the head of the Church was the idea, with a preponderance on the side of the worldly ruler.

As to inner development this church was poor. In fact there was no development. In contrast to the Western Church with her unending reforms and reformatations, with her struggles about dogma and creeds, the Church of the East gives the impression of rigidity. She was and is averse to any reform; as one of her theologians said, "she

never takes away, never adds, never changes; she always remains the same and preserves untainted Orthodoxy." Claiming to be just the Church of the Apostles, she lives on that principle of "Antiquity" which the Tractarians praised so highly and which makes her so attractive and interesting for many members of the Anglican communion. Of course the danger of complacency was at hand, and if we add the traditional old-Russian negligence, the result was bound to be rather distressing. The life of the Russian Church was a hollow, formalistic Ritualism for the masses, with no understandable idea behind the rites, and on the other hand an unbridled fantastic mysticism among some of her followers.

The intellectual and moral status of the clergy was extremely low, the discipline incredibly neglected. The Russian service is long and trying, as everybody knows who ever attended one, the congregation having the choice only between standing on their feet or lying prostrate on the stone pavement. Thus an ingenious method was invented to comply with the requirements and still shorten the ceremony: the so-called "unison," having the psalms read by the lector, the lessons by the subdeacon and the responses by the deacon all at one time. It did not matter. The congregation scarcely understood a word of the old-Russian (Church-Slavonic) texts anyhow. They were satisfied with the mystical glow of the service and the magic effect of this mumbling the holy texts. The texts had been translated from the Greek, and the younger the translation, the more slavishly literal it was, word for word without any regard to whether it made sense in Russian or not. There are many texts which even

a modern student of old Russian cannot understand without the Greek original. Besides, the texts were transmitted by hand-made copies—printing was a young and rare art in Russia; and uneducated copyists added mistakes in every new copy, and nobody was able or wanted to check them.

So the church muddled on, conceited because of its "Antiquity" and its national privilege of pure faith, even proud of its ignorance, which it identified with Christian meekness. No theology existed; a servile lower clergy, undisciplined, with base morals, kept the tradition; the thousands of monks relished their ignorance, the monastery ceased being a school; and the high clergy were puppets in the hands of the Tsar and of influential courtiers. The patriarch feared nobody more than the Tsar's powerful confessor and expected daily to be deposed.

In 1645 a new Tsar came to the throne, Aleksej, a youth of 16 years, not quite the usual old Russian type, with which, however, he shared many qualities. He was deeply religious, Russian-religious, but open-minded and aware of the fact that Russia was ripe for some change and perhaps could even learn something from the heretic West. He was not of a strong nature and finally left it to his son to take the steps, of which he realized to some degree the necessity. The son's name was Peter—Peter the Great.

A year after the beginning of Aleksej's reign a higher clergyman, an abbot, visiting Moscow in the interest of his North Russian monastery, was introduced to him; and the personality of this man made such an impression on the young Tsar that he wanted to keep him in residence. He was given the position

of archimandrite in a monastery in Moscow, a springboard for quick preferment. His name was Nikon (= Victor). He was a handsome man, strong, with an impressive voice and imperious gestures. Born in a peasant family in the East, near Nizhny Novgorod, in 1605, he became a monk early in life, then a secular priest for many years, and was married as the secular clergy were obliged to be. The couple had many children, but all of them died early, and so the parents separated in the legal form, both entering the monastic life. Nikon went to the utmost North, became abbot and was soon in conflict with his monks. He transferred to another monastery and in this position he received the call to Moscow. The favor of the Tsar, quickly won, brought him a bishopric very soon, and after a few years, in 1652, he was the Tsar's candidate for the vacant Patriarchate. He accepted, of course, after the usual formality of 'nolo episcopari,' which is common to East and West.

Nikon brought something with him to his office which scarcely one of his predecessors had had: a strong sense of the high dignity of his position. From the beginning he declined being the tool in the hands of the secular ruler. There was one precedent: under Aleksej's father, Michael Romanov, the patriarch had been nobody else than the young Tsar's own father, Philaret, and he had been a spiritual co-regent of the Empire for almost twenty years, in which position he combined the honors of secular and ecclesiastical rulership, carrying even the title of "His Majesty" (literally "Great Lord"). Nikon made his acceptance of the Patriarchate dependent on the guarantee of similar rights; he required an oath from the

court nobility and the "nation"—whatever that means—to leave the regulation of church affairs to him alone. The friendship of the young Tsar granted the favorite whatever he asked for, and so he started like an all-powerful oriental Vizier in a tale from the Thousand and One Nights. During the Tsar's absence from the capital he acted as Deputy Tsar, the title of Majesty being conceded to him also. The prayer for the Tsar was changed into a prayer for "the Rulers." The court nobility from the very beginning looked askance at this upstart and his dictatorial behavior, and he was not slow in enlarging the circle of his enemies.

Nikon was not an outstanding theologian nor a scholar at all; his Greek was poor, but he was intelligent enough to see, together with a minority of the higher clergy, that the Russian Church needed a shake-up, that she was not the flawless ideal of religious perfection which the traditionalists believed her to be, and so could learn something from elsewhere. After all, the origin of this church was Greek, and in order to set things right, it seemed advisable to go back to the Greek sources. And so Nikon became something which was unpopular among the Russian Christians of the 17th century with their feeling of religious perfection and their contempt for their poor relations. He became a Grecophile.

What was to be reformed? The faith? The dogma? Not in the least; this is out of the question in any Eastern Church. But the service, the liturgy, the rituals. The idea was not absolutely new. Even before Nikon some attempts had been made to revise the corrupt texts which debased the service; but these attempts had floundered on traditionalism

and inertia. Now for the first time an energetic leader attacked the problem.

Carloads of Greek liturgic texts were ordered, and some theological scholars, imported from Kiew, were appointed to amend the Russian translations. A harmless operation to our mind, an idea that made sense, comparable to the modern revisions of the King James version. Not so in old Russia. The pious considered such an attempt sacrilegious. Absolutely unable to differentiate between creed and ritual they saw nothing more in it than a frivolous tampering with the word of God.

Worse was in store. The icons were examined, and those which were found differing from the old Byzantine norms were thrown out, unfeelingly destroyed in the presence of pious congregations that stood aghast and feared a manifestation of the wrath of God in the next minute.

The ritual was tested too, and patriarchal orders forbade certain forms and ordered others. We are astonished when we see the pettiness of the problems involved and the furious energy of the fighting *pro* and *con*. There was the question whether to cross oneself with two fingers or with three; whether to pronounce the name of the Savior 'Issus' or 'Iissus'; whether to take five or seven hosts for the mass; whether to permit the simple two-branch cross beside the traditional Russian three-branch form. On every one of these points the Patriarch had his outspoken opinion and the traditionalists the contrary one.

It was clear from the beginning that these reforms were unwelcome to the majority of the believers. Accustomed to consider the inherited holy mysteries of the cult as a kind of magic in which every letter, every step had its holy

significance, they were afraid even of the slightest change, and especially of changes following the pattern of the Greeks who were in God's disfavor. The nationalization of the Russian Church had gone so far that the concept of a Church Universal was incomprehensible to the society. There was only one true Church, the Russian one, and outside was nothing but heresy and danger for pious souls. A deep fear entered into their hearts: "We gathered together and began to worry. We saw that the winter (of religion) was near; the heart began to freeze and the bones to shake", as one of the most pious put it. Antiquity was in danger. The maddest suspicions were uttered: this new Patriarch was an agent of Rome, he was the forerunner of the Antichrist, yea, he was the Antichrist himself.

Indeed, this "Antichrist" was not a mild ruler; he was ungenerously bent on revenge against personal adversaries. He had little patience with opposition, and was handy with curse and anathema, with flogging and banishment against those who spoke up; he created martyrs for the old "belief" or rather for the tradition. Fear, the old weapon of Russian government, dominated both clergy and laity. "What honor is it for thee, Holy Father, that thou art a horror to everybody? They say, Do you know what he is: a wild beast, a bear, a wolf? I cannot understand this; they do not obey the Tsar, but everybody is afraid of thee: thy messengers are more dreaded than the Tsar's." This is a typical utterance of the higher clergy.

Poor people! There is something touching in this indescribable fear of damnation. It is genuine religiosity in the childish attire of dull traditionalism. They seriously believed that everything

new and unwonted was heretical, Western—worst of all: Latin, Popish. The books which Nikon's consultants made use of were Greek—bad enough, but many of them had been printed in Venice in Italy! What could they bring but Latin heresy?

Nikon had his way. A Russian synod under his sway in 1654 meekly approved of his innovations or reforms—and in the same year God showed his wrath clearly to all true old believers by a pestilence in the capital and by an eclipse of the sun.

How far the reforms were a matter of religious conviction with Nikon himself is a question. Sometimes he could speak rather lightly about them: "You may take the old books or the new ones; they are good, both of them." The thing that he wanted was discipline and obedience, subordination. He was much of the ecclesiastical martinet like his English contemporary, William Laud. And he enjoyed his commanding power. His ideas of the position of a Russian patriarch were higher-strung than those of any of his predecessors. He was not quite ignorant of Western church history, and it sounds strangely familiar to us when we hear him proclaim:

When God Almighty created heaven and earth, he made two lights shine, sun and moon, and hereby allegorized the two powers of the Priest and the Tsar. The priestly powers shine over the day; this is the power over the souls. And as the moon receives his light from the sun, thus the Tsar receives his unction and coronation from the Priest and rules this world. The sword of the Tsar must be at the disposal of the Priest against the enemies of the orthodox faith.

It is the well-known circle of ideas which we call Gregorianism, recalling their greatest champion. The final aim is indeed a kind of Russian papacy, a

reversal of the traditional Eastern *Cæsaro-papism* which left the highest place to the secular ruler and subordinated Church authority to him. His contemporaries, at least some of them, understood what he was aiming at.

An oriental clergyman describes with horror a service of the Patriarch which he attended in 1655:

Nikon blessed the Tsar and then he raised his voice and spoke of examples from antiquity—of Moses' victory over Pharaoh, of Constantine the Great—in beautiful words and logically and without haste. And when he paused or made a mistake, he stood thinking for quite a while in silence and nobody dared trouble him; all listened in silence, and more than all the Tsar. He stood with his hands crossed, meek and quiet like a poor man, a servant before his lord. What a spectacle: the ruler with his head uncovered, the Patriarch in his mitre—like servant and lord. My heart was burning for the Tsar.

For a man of Byzantine traditions this was unheard-of indeed; but it characterizes, though with dramatic exaggeration, the situation in Nikon's first years.

For six years Tsar and Patriarch went hand in hand, the younger man being under the spell of the older one. Then, with the suddenness of change in the fairy tale of the Grand Vizier, the critical moment came: the favorite fell into disgrace, and the break was at hand. Intrigues among the court nobility, with whom Nikon was extremely unpopular, had a great deal to do with this sudden development. Without a warning, one day in 1658 Aleksej broke off his relations with the Patriarch. He no longer attended his services, denied him the usual invitations to court and insulted him by refusing to punish one of his courtiers who had insulted one of Nikon's servants.

Nikon, emotional and rash, countered at once. In a dramatic scene in his cathedral he put his crozier aside and walked out, left the city and retired to a monastery near Moscow. There he remained longer than he expected. His calculation evidently was based on the idea that he was indispensable and that the Tsar would ask forgiveness and invite him back, and so the whole incident would only serve to strengthen his ascendancy. The expectation proved wrong. Aleksej made no gesture and Nikon was left in his self-created awkward position, for eight long years. The Tsar took care to appoint the canonical substitute for the absent Patriarch—one of the Metropolitans, and left the grumbling lion to his changing moods. It was a clear strategy on the side of the Tsar—to let the adversary rage at his heart's desire and so to exhaust him, to wait and see.

We have no end of reports and letters from this period of Nikon's life, and they show a strange inconsistency. He would deny one day what he had said the day before; he would change from proud assertion of his insulted dignity to wailing complaints about his martyrdom; he threatened and he coaxed; one day he would send his blessing to the Tsar, the next day he would pronounce a futile anathema on his substitute. It evidently was an affair of nerves. He had the constitution of one Russian type which Dostoyevsky once formulated: "as big as a bear and as nervous as a lady." Emotionalism is the spring of Nikon's behavior. Three times in these years he tried to return. "Unexpelled I have gone, uninvited I am coming back." He was told right away to withdraw.

Once he announced his coming in a letter which told a lengthy story of a

vision in which his late predecessors had encouraged him to return, and added, "I am meek and humble in my heart." Another time he wrote: "It pleases God to make us suffer with no reason, but we have predecessors in this: St. John Chrysostom, St. Athanasius, St. Basil," no comparison being too high for the self-appointed martyr.

Meanwhile the court party did all they could to ruin the Patriarch. It is impossible to describe the complicated play of espionage and intrigue conducted by both sides; Nikon had his spies at court just as the court had theirs in the monastery. The Tsar himself evidently became anxious to get rid, finally, of the former favorite and welcomed the services of a new actor in this tragicomedy who took the lead against Nikon. It was a figure typical of the time, though far above the average in the art of double-crossing—an ecclesiastical "soldier of fortune"; an unscrupulous adventurer in clerical garb; a Greek by the name of Paisius Ligarides, who went around under the title of Metropolitan of Gaza in Palestine, though nobody had ever seen him in his archbishopric. Born on one of the Greek Islands, he had been educated in Rome in the Seminary for Greek-Catholic Uniats and had started, with a Roman ordination, as an agent of the Roman propaganda in the East. Then he had switched over to the other side and received the monk's tonsure from an Orthodox archbishop, and had somehow acquired his Orthodox title of Metropolitan. A brilliant product of his school at Rome, he surpassed his fellow-countrymen in the knowledge of theological and canon law. The memoirs which he left to posterity are more full of lies than any other work of the time. With the flair of an adventurer

he saw his opportunity in the great scandal at Moscow. He came to Russia like so many of his fellow countrymen and colleagues and somehow found access to the court. In a short time the astute Greek became an unofficial adviser of the Tsar and the public prosecutor of Nikon. He wrote long canonical expertises for the court party, and cleverly lured Nikon into utterances which were to compromise him more and more. Besides, he found the time to extort high salaries for himself and "alms for his poor diocese" in Palestine which never got farther than into his own pocket. What the Russian court did not know was that this great defender of Greek Orthodoxy corresponded from time to time with the papal nuncio at Warsaw and tried to reestablish, not very successfully, his old relations with the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*.

It was probably Ligarides who gave the Tsar the idea of finishing the affair by presenting Nikon to a General Council of the Eastern Church. I cannot tell in detail how he tried to get the presidency of this council into his hands and failed, only at the last moment, because of information which came from Constantinople just in time and told something about his character. He could not be dropped completely, for he already knew too much, and so he still had a part in the affair.

The General Council met indeed in Moscow in 1666, Russian episcopate mostly. Two of the Eastern Patriarchs, those of Antioch and of Alexandria, presided majestically without understanding the subject matter. The manager behind the scene, directing the presiding patriarchs, was Ligarides. Nikon had no objection to appearing before this tribunal. It was a chance to defend

his principles. But the accusation was formulated in such a way that condemnation was inevitable, at least by judges who lived in the Greek, Cæsaro-papistic tradition. Nikon was accused of disobedience to the Tsar's Majesty, and according to Greek Canon Law (*can. apost.* 84) this was to be punished by deposition.

The trial was not an edifying spectacle. Nikon forgot all his respect for the General Council as the lawful highest institution of the Church Universal. He told his judges what he thought of them—"Sultan's flunkys, vagrants, beggars"—which after all was, if not polite, yet not too far from the truth. He defended himself skillfully. When a canon was quoted against him, he cast doubt on its authenticity; and his tactics drove the judges almost to despair. The Patriarch of Antioch exclaimed: "Even Satan speaks the truth sometimes, Nikon never." The sentence, however, was a foregone conclusion: deposition and unfrocking. Old Byzantium stood up against Gregorian ideas. Nikon, the friend of Greek tradition, succumbed to Greek traditions, and his sentence was meted out and executed by Greeks.

The next act, a very short one, was played in one of the monasteries in the Kremlin—a repulsive ceremony. His Holiness the "Patriarch and Pope of Alexandria, Judge of the World"—in fact no more than an insignificant Greek bishop in the pay of the Tsar's court—stripped Nikon of his distinctive headgear, and immediately after that the convicted criminal was sent to imprisonment for life in a monastery far off in the North. He remained there for almost fifteen years, not quite without contact with the Tsar, who still addressed him in gracious letters as "Great

and Holy Sage." Aleksej's successor, Tsar Feodor, granted the last demand of the Ex-Patriarch—to let him die in his favorite monastery near Moscow. On his way back Nikon died in 1681.

After having done with Nikon, the Council of 1666 was confronted by the further question of what to do about Nikon's work, the reforms? The council discussed and approved them in full—an important decision, more far-reaching than it seems at the first glance. Until 1666 the innovations in ritual and texts, which so many pious Christians detested, could be considered as the whims of an ambitious hierarch. But if the traditionalists hoped to get rid of Nikon's whims together with Nikon's hated regime, they were mistaken. Approved by the higher authority of the Council, the reforms became compulsory in the Russian Church. He who could not bring his conscience to comply with the requirements had no other way left than separation from the Church.

And they did separate by the thousands. The Council of 1666 by confirming the Nikon reforms started the Raskol, the schismatic Church of the so-called Old-Believers. The unity of the Russian Church was broken; many thousands and later on some millions chose to live outside of her, under hard persecution very often, but stubbornly clinging to the old holy tradition.

The Council of 1666, however, had one more important consequence. It reestablished the Byzantine idea of the Tsar's supremacy, his leadership over the Church. Aleksej's son Peter made serious use of this power. In 1700 when the then Patriarch died, Peter left the position vacant. He transformed church government by replacing

the Patriarchate with a governing body, the Holy Synod, modelled essentially on the pattern of German Protestant consistories with some bishops as members, but with all influence concentrated in the hands of the only lay member, the dreaded *Oberprocuror*, a personal deputy of the Tsar, often an ex-army-general or a lawyer, never a priest. And so the Byzantine system reached its completion in Russia. The Russian

Church from 1700 to 1917 was just one more part in the state machinery.

So in a higher sense Nikon's reforms ended in failure. They were corrections in detail, valuable and somehow respectable, but they did not change the spirit of the Church. They did not bring life into the dry bones. Russian contributions to religious thinking in modern times regularly came from lay-theologians, rarely from the official church.

PHILOSOPHY THROUGH EXEGESIS

By JOHN S. MARSHALL

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Philosophy is more than empirical science; it is more than the generalizations of observation and the analytic propositions of inductive analysis. It is more because it is always speculative, because it is a courageous attempt to leap ahead of the merely scrutinizing procedures of natural science; it is an endeavor to conquer the darkness of ignorance by an audacious frontal attack. Civilizations also are based on assumptions, assumptions that transcend sense and its methods, for vital patterns of culture and life always involve an element of creative adventure. Both civilization and philosophy experiment in the light of a great faith, and learn by experience the truth and falsity of powerful speculative assumptions. True philosophy and true civilization are closely related, for each, if it is to be great, must minister to human life.

Although civilization and philosophy both use principles of speculation, those of civilization are by far the more aggressive and vital because they are

spontaneous and closely related to actual life. For that reason philosophy is well advised to draw its speculative principles from those assumptions that underlie great cultural achievements. For instance, language provides us with cultural clues to knowledge, and the school of Wilamowitz and Jaeger has revealed by linguistic analysis that Plato and Aristotle, even as scientific thinkers, are also representatives of Greek civilization. Aristotle is a Greek of the Greeks, yet he is also highly objective. He is primarily interested in analytic propositions; but he always throws them as images upon the screen of Greek life and civilization. Thus it is as a Greek he has a universal meaning and significance. In the thought of the Stagirite subjective and objective factors blend naturally into a harmony that carries us on towards truth.

This method of reasoning is a form of speculation, because it uses cultural assumption as a first step in the processes of knowledge. The assumptions are de-

rived from the general experience of the race and are accepted without other proof as the foundations of all thought. For example, Aristotle never proves that there are ten categories, and never even proves the existence of any categories. Trendelenberg even thinks that he arrived at them by a linguistic analysis, an analysis of the Greek language. They are probably a set of concepts drawn by Aristotle from his reflections on the civilization of which he was a part. Yet these categories are the clue to his metaphysics and are needed if we are to understand his ethical writings, and are even important for his psychology. Thus a speculative notion, a set of ideas drawn from Greek civilization, forms the basis of Aristotle's science and philosophy, for these ideas are the ultimate genera of all his knowledge, the unproved basis of his entire philosophy. The reason there is no proof for the categories is that they are given, are accepted by Aristotle speculatively. The fruitfulness of Aristotle as a philosopher, his value for cultural purposes, lies in this rich combination of a speculatively grounded set of notions which he uses as a fulcrum on which he rests the lever of his empiric judgments.

There is ground for the suggestion that such a method is subject to error, that speculation has its dangers; but the method of adventure is always dangerous. Defense, moreover, is just as fruitless as a way of knowledge as it is a technique of warfare. Ultimately we must venture forth and run some risk of making mistakes. Latent convictions must be used and tested by their ability to organize thought and action for the crucial experiments of life and destiny.

A great modern Greek, George Panagiotides, defines religion in these terms,

and points out that in one sense religion is an attempt to bring the life of man in its inner phases and developments into line with the events of the world of nature and of society. That is the reason why religion is most potent in the development of civilization, for its mood and method effectively fuse the deepest factors of a civilization into an organic and living whole. Religion is therefore needed to furnish that kind of speculative basis of thought that brings into unity the world of the inner life and the world of objective reality. There is, therefore, a religious phase in most great philosophical systems and that is the reason why an organic view of the world only finds its ground in a religious system of thought.

Aristotle discovers his ideal of life in a god-like life, a life of contemplation of the timeless and the eternal, and Plato makes the world of Forms the only real and eternal domain of life and reality; but it is Neo-Platonism that consciously attempts to find the basis of Greek civilization in a speculative religious synthesis, and we know how fruitful such a philosophy was in regenerating art, literature, and science in the Greek Middle Ages and later in the Italian and English Renaissance. It influenced and molded Michael Angelo, Spenser, and Newton, and it made the great English poetic tradition possible. It gave us modern Italian Art, the high English poetic tradition, and it stimulated modern science. This was possible because Neo-Platonism is a religious philosophy, a speculative religious system that fruitfully interprets all life in terms of a great cultural heritage. Of all ancient philosophies the Aristotelian and the Neo-Platonic are the most deeply rooted in the experience of civilization

and are also the most fruitful in their interpretation of both human life and objective fact.

Now the success of these two systems of philosophy has led certain moderns to attempt a similar synthesis, that is, to use the great cultural heritage of the New Testament through a speculative religious synthesis that both reveals the inner meaning of Christianity and discovers the meaning of the Scriptures by showing us the presuppositions that lie behind them. This is a very adventurous task, the enterprise of discovering a world-view, a philosophical assumption that is true to the New Testament as a cultural document and that allows it to become the ground of the full development of a complete philosophy.

Such a philosophy does not complete itself and then justify its ways by appealing to the New Testament; it is not a self-contained system developed outside of the influence of the Biblical way of thinking. On the other hand it is not a mere apologia for select passages from the Holy Scriptures. Its method is subtle and daring: by first seeking a set of simple assumptions drawn from the best of human experience and shared by the writers of the New Testament, the philosopher then sets about to find the meaning of the New Testament itself as a contribution to a philosophy. It is the New Testament that is the key to the philosophy; but there must be an attempt to find a simple framework of thought that will help us in our philosophical interpretation of the New Testament. The conviction is that the New Testament will give us a philosophy if we but approach it aright.

This type of philosophizing has been very congenial to Anglican theologians. It has allowed them to stress Antiquity,

Scripture, and Continuity; but it has been the despair of secular philosophers and even those Christian philosophers who have followed the traditions and methods of secular philosophy and then have created an apologia for Christianity on the basis of contemporary secular thought. To contemporary secular thought such Biblical philosophers have seemed obscure and wrong-headed; and from the usual philosophical point of view the entire method is unintelligible. But to the student of later Aristotelianism and Neo-Platonism it is clear, for it is a method of philosophizing through cultural interpretation and integration.

Since the time of the Renaissance, this method has been congenial to the Anglican spirit and has been used time and time again from the Renaissance to the present day; but during the last hundred years it has taken a distinctly exegetical form. Through the influence of Maurice it became the source of the inspiration of a series of great exegetes, Bishop Westcott, E. A. Abbott, and H. B. Swete; in a similar way W. P. DuBose developed both an independent system of exegesis and a series of commentaries. Freed from the excesses of Origen, we have a revival of his spirit in the creation of a Biblical philosophy through exegesis.

1. *The Philosophy of F. D. Maurice.* Maurice is unique in his position in the history of English philosophy, and his very uniqueness makes him generally misunderstood. He is not an apologist for Christianity, either by means of some philosophical construction, or by a skeptical attack upon the enemies of the Church. He makes few defensive assaults in behalf of the Christian position as such. His method is speculative and aggressive, and he moves in the

realm of ideas with the ease and grace of facile thought and natural reflection. His enemies considered him either a dangerous thinker or a muddle-headed fool; his friends thought he was the greatest thinker since Plato. The strict empiricists thought, of course, that he was muddle-headed, for he was speculative and therefore related to the ancients rather than to Hume or Mill. The Utilitarian theologians thought he was unclear because he made the Kingdom of Heaven more than meat and drink. Hence they did not know what he was talking about. The Evangelicals thought he was highly dangerous because he found the meaning of the Sacred Scriptures extending far beyond the mere words of the texts to meanings that changed every phase of civilization and, if allowed to be the leaven of modern life, would transfigure and change the whole character of modern existence. The Tractarians considered him dangerous because he was not interested in the old bottles of ancient buildings and organizations but was eager for a regeneration of life itself by the eternally new wine of the Gospels. Maurice was not understood, for his was a great and dynamic vision, born of the message of the Gospels and seen as the basis of the interpretation of all of life. Not in a conventional sense, but in a real sense, Maurice was one of England's great philosophers.

Maurice was daringly speculative; he was an adventurer whose mind moved back through English history to the time of Elizabeth for his prototypes in life and thought. He felt himself akin to the great Sea Lords of that period, and he admired the daring of Elizabeth in her transformation of the life of the Church and the Nation. It is in this

same spirit that Kingsley, Maurice's close friend and follower, wrote *Westward Ho!*, a story that magnifies Drake and commends the Elizabethan settlement of the affairs of both Church and State. It is the daring of Spenser's philosophical poetry that inspires Maurice and Kingsley and throws light on their mood and temperament.

As a soul that was deeply in sympathy with the English Renaissance, its temper and daring, Maurice under the influence of Coleridge found himself drinking deeply at the Platonic fountains. Not only for Religion but for life, the philosophy of Plato seemed to him true in a very natural sense of the word. Maurice thought that Plato was empirically and speculatively sound; and he repudiated the excesses of the Neo-Platonists. Scholars today would say that Maurice was more of a Neo-Platonist than a follower of Plato, for we know that it was the Platonism of the English Renaissance that attracted him to Spenser. What he disliked was the baroque Platonism of Cudworth and Henry More, too much sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, too much a defense of another world, and too little a part of forthright life and daring living, too lacking in a clean-cut recognition of God revealing Himself to us in the usual processes of our daily lives.

Maurice is a Platonist of a very simple kind: he believes that God reveals Himself to our consciences as the Guide and Law-giver of our lives. Here Maurice is the disciple of the Platonism of Clement of Alexandria whom he quotes with approval. But this moral revelation is not all of God's revelation to us. As the creator of the eternal forms, the prototypes of all natural earthly objects and things, He reveals Himself to us in the

speculative reason. He not only reveals to our reasons the eternal forms, but He enables us to grasp the idea of Infinity, that idea that is a dim recognition of God Himself. Maurice is so certain of the revelation of Infinity to our speculative reason, so convinced of the illumination of our reason by the eternal forms, that he flashes out at Mansel with a burning sword, sharpened with wrath and blazing with the fire of the Lord that destroys the enemies of God. Mansel defended the Bible by denying any direct revelation to the individual, and by making the idea of Infinity impossible for the human mind. Maurice answers him with the affirmation that God has revealed Himself to us by the direct enlightenment of our reason, and by the quickening of our consciences. There is a light that lightens the Gentiles, and that is the speculative beginning of our divine philosophy.¹

For Maurice this speculative grounding of our thinking has its justification in its capacity to interpret life and to give us courage and daring for our tasks and adventures. Fortified with this speculation, which seems to Maurice revealed, and revealed from God Himself, he approaches the Bible as the objective revelation of God. Within, we have only the idea of the Infinite and the general prompting of consciences; but in the Bible God reveals Himself to us in His dealings with the Hebrews and in the end He reveals His fulness, the Fulness of His Glory in the Incarnation.

The objective revelation, the revelation of God in the Incarnation, justifies to us the revelation of God to our reasons and to our consciences. Also our reasons and our consciences find their com-

pletion in the Revelation of the Incarnation.

This is obviously a speculative approach to Christianity, and a very daring approach. Its great value lies in its grasp of first principles and its power to interpret the Incarnation broadly and significantly for modern civilization. It makes the Bible supremely important. Still the Bible is not an end in itself; it is the record of God's progressive revelation to man culminating in the Incarnation. The Incarnation as the revelation of God is recorded in the Bible, and so the Bible must be studied to discover God's meaning for us. The Bible is a special revelation of the meaning of life to be found more dimly outlined in Nature and in Man's conscience.

Naturally enough there was no warfare between this type of Christian philosophy and contemporary science, for according to Maurice our Lord is only the completion, the fulness of natural revelation, and the two are interlinked and connected. Kingsley, Maurice's disciple, corresponded with Darwin and offered him such scientific information as he had collected; Hort assisted in opening the School of Natural Science at Cambridge. The speculative foundations of this method of interpretation of the Bible made possible a Christian Philosophy that brought modern science to the aid of Christianity, and used Christian morality as a clue to the meaning of the course of history and nature.

In this way arose Maurice and Kingsley's interpretation of history and their famous Christian Socialism. Since there is the closest possible connection between God revealing Himself in us and God as revealed in the Incarnate Lord, Jesus makes clear to us what man is in his essence, man as he should be. He ap-

¹ Maurice, F. D., *What is Revelation?*

peals to us because He calls upon something deep within ourselves. Thus cooperation is deeper within us than enmity, and love is truer than hate. Carrying out this daring moral speculation, Maurice and Kingsley founded their cooperatives and set up their Working Men's College. Their success, though only partial, was complete enough to make them believe that their speculative principles were true and that God's revelation had verified itself anew in human experience. For the Christian Socialists, civilization had a new meaning, if we would but view it through the eyes of their Platonic interpretation of the Bible and of life itself.

The value of such a system of philosophy has been greater than most of us realize. Ultimately it changed the course of the life of the English Church. From this school of thought Bishop Gore learned the significance of the Gospel as a means of social reconstruction, and all parties of the Church discovered the meaning of the Incarnation for Christian theology. It encouraged Churchmen to study science, and sent them back to their Bibles as to a modern book; it likewise urged the Church to go out and correct the evils of the contemporary world. It made the Bible once more the book of the people, and revealed to the industrialist as well as to the scholar that Christian civilization is not bourgeois liberalism, but the Kingdom of God on earth as it is in Heaven.

2. *The Philosophy of DuBose.* A generation later than Maurice an American thinker did a similar piece of work in a different way: he approached the Bible through the teleological method of Aristotle. DuBose felt that in Aristotle's *Ethics* is to be found a natural wisdom that throws light on

the Gospels and the whole New Testament. The start is much like that of Hooker: we accept the wisdom of natural knowledge, the light that has been thrown on human nature by the insights of the ages. Even Biblical exegesis starts with this. However, we must remember that the Aristotle of DuBose is not the Athenian of the learned modern commentators but the Aristotle of Byzantium, the Renaissance, and the modern Anglican Communion. It is an Aristotle whose concepts of morality are remade and completely transfigured in the glowing crucible of Dr. DuBose's own thought, it is a natural knowledge revealed in the Sermon on the Mount and set in the framework of the Fourth Gospel. Such wisdom is natural knowledge, but the natural knowledge that came to maturity only in the Christian heritage.

Morality, according to DuBose, deals with the realm of reason and freedom, the higher life that rises above the merely automatic and necessary. The moral nature, however, is not an alien and foreign aspect of man's concrete being; it is organic to human nature as a whole, and completes the automatic functions on which it rests.

The one essential point for him [Man] as Man—the single and distinctive point that is to make him Man—is that upon him is the task and function, in the exercise of his own reason and freedom, to make himself out of all these congruous or not in themselves incongruous materials and elements.²

DuBose agrees with Aristotle that the end of life is activity, and this activity is the perfect functioning of the whole being in terms of virtue. Virtue is the completion, the perfect fruition, of our

² *From Aristotle to Christ*, Part II, ch. iii. (This work exists only in manuscript.)

natural functions. In virtue, human life justifies itself through its own activity and experience; it has a true end within itself. We all aim at that radiant blossoming of life whose fruits always have the glow and beauty of a perfection reached, a perfection so glorious that we call it nothing less than happiness.

The laws of conduct are latent in human life itself, and are not something superimposed on us from without. DuBose interprets Aristotle's use of *θεῖος* in the *Ethics* to mean the deity as operative in human life. He believes that Aristotle is here teaching the doctrine of God as functioning in and through human life, and as revealing Himself in these His immanent functions as the God of all law and order. This is probably a Neo-Platonic interpretation of Aristotle's theory but it is nevertheless the exegesis that DuBose uses. This is the first stage of DuBose's speculation: the acceptance of Aristotle's *Ethics* as the revelation of the divine law for human conduct. It is the law of life that lies behind the Gospels. It is like Hooker's conception of natural law, but it is founded on a doctrine of immanence unknown to Hooker. It is Hooker with a Neo-Platonic interpretation of the laws of conduct.

But beyond conduct, beyond "natural law," is religion, the realm of faith, hope, and love, a realm that transcends the realm of immanent divinity. "No mere theory or even Science of an immanent divinity constitutes a beginning of religion."³ But the immanent divinity within us, the laws of conduct, do make us akin to the transcendent God, do bring us close to Him and near Him.

Otherwise we could not reach upwards towards Him and by grace become His children.

... If God were not in us, we could not see or know God: if we were not by nature His children we could not become by Grace His children. We would not have the initial intuitions of Deity and Eternity of which we have been speaking, if natural fact and scientific conclusion did not bring us up to the point with which we have arrived with Aristotle.⁴

Our faith, our hope, our love, lead us beyond the realm that Aristotle portrays into the realm of revelation and inspiration. That realm does not destroy the realm of law; it does not make it null and void. Our Lord did not come to destroy either the Law of Moses or the natural law revealed by Aristotle. He came to fulfill the law and to show its perfection when completed by the transcendence of religion.

Like Maurice, Du Bose finds his philosophy completed by the revelation of the Gospels. Our incarnate Lord manifests to us perfect God and perfect Man. Here is a revelation that comes to us through religion, and it is a revelation apprehended by faith, hope, and love. Our Lord is the perfection of the laws of conduct as given us by Aristotle; but He is more, He also speaks forth the revelation of Grace, the perfection of faith and love, those motives that make the moral life possible. We are really saved by faith and not by the law, because it is by faith that we apprehend the Grace of God, that love and kindness by which He ministers to us and makes it possible for us to fulfill the law and to live the life of natural morality and goodness. Aristotle shows us what our conduct should be, but he does not give

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

us the motive. He tells us that we must be just; but he does not show us how to fulfill the law and he does not reveal to us the glory of the moral life animated by faith, hope, and love. Aristotle is a beacon light; but he is not the Light, the higher revelation of life's meaning and destiny.

There is a speculative side unknown to Aristotle, a speculation that leads us to the meaning of life through the Incarnation, the meaning of the life that lies ahead of us through the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Our Lord did not give us salvation by a set of teachings; He did teach, but His teaching was largely anticipated before. Even faith, hope, and charity had been enunciated before. What He did do was to give us Himself. He was the revelation of the perfection of the law, and the perfection of that which was above the law, the very being of God Himself as the End of our destiny and the meaning of our existence.

DuBose finds the rationale of life, its meaning and significance as a way of salvation, laid before us by St. Paul. The Gospels present us with the Incarnate Life of our Lord; the Epistles of St. Paul give us its meaning as a salvation, as a way of redemption. There is no conflict between St. Paul and the Gospels: it is the same Gospel, but the presentation is different. There is a *Gospel in the Gospels*, and there is a *Gospel According to St. Paul*.⁵ It is the same Christ, but the Christ of the Beatitudes, and the Christ of Redemption. In the one Gospel He lives, He walks,

⁵ It is interesting to note how clearly DuBose indicates his exegetical method by the titles of his Commentaries, *The Gospel in the Gospels*, *The Gospel According to St. Paul*, *The Reason of Life*.

He talks with us, He loves us, He is one amongst us. That is the Christ of the Synoptics, *The Gospel in the Gospels*. In the other Gospel He is the Redeemer, the Saviour, the Risen Lord of the Resurrection and the Life: this is the Gospel according to St. Paul. Then there is the Gospel according to St. John, *The Reason of Life*, the Christ who is Very Man of Very Man, and Very God of Very God. He is the Saviour who became incarnate and revealed the glory, the glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. In Him we see the Life and the Light of God revealed to us men for our salvation. In these three Gospels we see our Lord as Prophet, Priest, and King. It is the same Christ, but revealed in the three phases of his character, and enriched and glorified by each.

Thus for DuBose, as for Maurice, speculation makes possible a fresh approach to the New Testament, a new method of exegesis, an exegesis that fulfills the philosophy with which DuBose starts, and also gives us a Christian philosophy grounded in the New Testament and its relation to us. Both Maurice and DuBose were interpreters of the New Testament, and both were primarily interested in finding the meaning of the New Testament in its larger aspects and its fulness of meaning. They desired to understand the larger meaning of the Incarnation for the redemption of the world. Any philosophy they built must be justified by its ability to interpret and lay bare the significance of God made manifest in the flesh. To do this they sought the presuppositions of the Gospels, the assumptions needed to make such an interpretation possible.

The results obtained by these two philosophies are very similar, despite some

differences of approach, and these likenesses prove that the Christian revelation transfigures both philosophies. However, there are differences. Maurice wished to reach from earth for the heavens above; and for that reason he wished to revolutionize society by his socialism. His is *The Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven*. DuBose, on the other hand, saw the earthly prudence of our Lord, and wished to see the wis-

dom of the ages completed through Him. For this reason, DuBose is nearer the heart of the practical Anglican heritage, for he ascends from earth to heaven and yet never forgets the sweet vales and flowing rivers or the green fields which gave him birth. His interest is in *The Reason of Life*, because God is with us in every phase of life and through the revelation of natural law brings us into the presence of His heavenly law.

THE SUPER-HISTORICAL GOSPEL

F. C. BAUR'S CRITICISM OF THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

By MARY E. ANDREWS

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In an article, "Pioneer Work on the Gospel of John,"¹ the writer cited this quotation from Karl Weizsäcker, "The man who was reproached most of all for his historical criticism of the Gospel of John is the very person who has so powerfully set forth the peculiar spirit of this Gospel, that men of the most different opinions cannot escape his influence today in this direction." This article seeks to present that "peculiar spirit," and is based upon Baur's own thorough exposition.²

This gospel is no simple historical gospel. From the first it was planned in accordance with a definite super-historical idea; individual sections gear into this idea. The more definitely and frequently the author proclaims his main idea, the more certainly it may be

affirmed that here is no historical gospel. To the ancients this was the "spiritual" gospel in contrast to the *somatische* Synoptics. It has not the same historical character as they; it places the history under a definite point of view and follows a definite tendency in the treatment of the material. The key to the inner meaning and connection of its content is still lacking. All problems have been subordinated to that of authorship, resulting in a one-sided and external view of the character and value of the gospel. Authorship must be considered, but more important problems deserve first consideration.

How can both John and the Synoptics be historical and at the same time so different? Where John and the Synoptics disagree the preference has been given to John. The acceptance of a ruling historical purpose prevents penetration to the inner heart of the gospel, the connection of its parts and the unity of its ideas. It still must be asked

¹ *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LIX (1940), 191-92.

² *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien ihr Verhältnis zu einander, ihren Charakter und Ursprung*, 1847, 78-389.

whether the idea shining forth from the historical narrative is due to the historical tendency of the gospel or whether in its peculiar intelligible significance the idea is so powerful over the history that it actually moulds that history.

1. *The Prologue and the Idea of the Logos.* 1:1-18.

The evangelist sees the Logos as the absolute principle of all being, the principle of life and light, revealing itself in the world, and in the human world meeting an opposition which it must first overcome. This mode of observation is analogous to that of the Gnostics who distinguish between the absolute, self-existent God revealing himself in the opposition of principles immanent in the world, but with the evangelist this opposition first comes into the world of men in the present. The hostile power opposing the Logos is the unbelief of the world, but this unbelief has its source and significance not only in the ethical freedom of separate individuals, but also in the general opposition, physical as well as ethical, of the two principles, light and darkness.

This opposition is not limited to the prologue but is significantly stated elsewhere. Christ reveals the opposition which is between light and darkness (3:17-21). Men fall into two classes, those from God who hear his words, and those sons of the devil who do not hear God's words (8:47). A higher necessity works in the ethical world and unbelief follows as a consequence of the whole activity of Jesus (12:37-50).

Light and darkness are therefore the highest principles at work even in the ethical world. The darkness can shut out light only from itself. Thus the unbelief of the world acts against Jesus,

the Light of the world. This contrast of principles, however, is not absolute, the darkness also has something in it which will be raised into light and can come to unity with it. This happens through belief, and is first realized through the knowledge of the presence of light in the darkness. The light must come into the darkness, reveal itself in it, spread and become generally visible in the world so that it can become an object of contemplation, of knowledge and of belief. Those who receive the Logos into themselves or believe in his name receive the power to become children of God, not through human will, nor through a principle separate from God, but they really are begotten of God. God becomes man in taking flesh and dwelling among men. The reconciliation of the principles of light and darkness is the deepest significance of belief, but how does the incarnation of the Logos relate itself to this unity mediated through belief?

"The word became flesh" has only a subordinate significance. The prologue does not know an historical Christ who appeared in flesh, but already historically Christ becomes the Logos through his entrance into the world and human history because he is the light shining in darkness. The Logos did not become flesh to make possible the unity with God, but rather to make more blessed an already existing relationship. He accepts flesh only to be what he is in himself for those who have the right receptivity for it and to let them see and experience it.

The interpreters who see the Johanne gospel as historical must see its content in essential agreement with the Synoptics, and prove the possibility of this harmony by showing how "the word

became flesh" relates to the Synoptic narrative of the supernatural birth of Jesus. This is not as simple and easy as is usually conceived; the two cannot be brought together by saying that the Synoptics are commentary to John. Nor can one say that the Christology of the prologue is too high for the miraculous birth of Jesus. It was not merely a higher point of view, but a quite different one. In the Synoptics the subject comes first through the birth which as such is the subject of gospel history, in John the subject is already there in itself. John meets the Synoptics because the Logos as subject of gospel story is to him the same historical individual who in the beginning of gospel history is so plainly called Jesus. The absolute power of the subject, the Logos, breaks through the human hull of flesh.

2. *The Witness of the Baptist.* 1:19-36.

Why is the Baptist so closely linked with the Logos, the absolute principle of life and light? Historical knowledge is the presupposition of faith. The object of faith can only be that of whose historical reality one is already convinced, but the historical reality itself rests on the witness. Gospel history now begins. Its first stage is the presence of the Messiah, known only to the Baptist. Its second stage is when the Baptist points to a definite individual as the Messiah, calls him the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world, i.e., the Savior through suffering and death. The third stage shows the Messiah introduced to the consciousness of the world so as to become an object of faith to the world. When the first two apostles believe on Jesus everything is completely realized which is implicit in

the witness of the Baptist. It is in line with Johannine interest to make this first witness to the Messiah in the presence of a formal delegation from the Sanhedrin, who represent the whole nation. From this witness developed a whole series of manifestation of the person and glory of the Messiah, which should have produced faith, but instead the result was unbelief.

We must accept the idea of divine revelation of Jesus' Messiahship to John, either immediate, that this man and no other was the Messiah, or that he in an inner vision saw the Holy Spirit descend upon him and unite with him. Since the relation of the second day to the first is the advance from the indefinite to the definite witness there can intervene between the first and second days no such act as the baptism of Jesus by John. The section 19-34 has no such reference. In the Synoptics baptism was the initiation into Messiahship (Matt. 3:15). But as Logos Jesus is all that he could become.

Why did John omit the temptation? Such objective proof of Messiahship could not be necessary for a Messiah identical with the divine Logos. The *tendenz* of this gospel purposely excludes the baptism and temptation; the historical content is subordinate to the idea placed over the whole. It connects with the gospel tradition which in itself is not the same. In Matthew the Baptist refuses to baptize Jesus—Matthew would subordinate the Baptist—it could easily arise that Jesus had not been baptized by John. Thus the historical passes into the unhistorical. The historical foundation of 1:19-28 is Luke 3:15-16, and the rest, such as the embassy from Jerusalem, is to be seen as an amplification of the earlier portrayal.

3. *The Self-revelation of the Messiah.*
John and Jesus. 1: 37-2: 11; 3: 22-36.

A new triad of days and actions, bound by the unity of their idea, begins. The Messiah, proclaimed by the Baptist, showed his divine greatness and splendor by three proofs: (1) the call of the first disciples, when Jesus read their innermost thoughts, (2) the *δόξα* showing itself in the supernatural *εἶδον*, or seeing at a distance, which is supernatural knowledge, and (3) the miracle at Cana, a particular "sign," an externally striking result of Messianic *δόξα*. If water is a symbol of the Baptist, wine would indicate the superiority of the Messiah, the former as preparation, the latter as the epoch of Messianic activity and glory.

There is scarcely another miracle so productive of interpretations as this miracle of Cana, some verging on the rationalistic, others on the magical, still others on the pietistic. A miracle is and remains a miracle. A miracle explicable out of nature and history is no miracle. The mythical view of Johannine miracles is excluded by the whole former development. Where reflection rules so decidedly and the portrayal is so purposeful the mythical is ruled out. It is part of the Johannine view with no contact with the Synoptics.

In 3: 22-36 the evangelist brings the Baptist and Jesus close together. Jesus also, or rather the disciples, baptized in this area. The basic idea is John's "He must increase, I must decrease." The Baptist is of earth; Jesus, the divine Logos, is of heaven. The Baptist as the earthly human principle sets himself over against the heavenly divine principle and sees himself as the moon might see the sun. There is drama in

the Baptist's abdication, his destiny is fulfilled.

4. *The First Entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem.* 2: 13-25.

After Cana Jesus went to Jerusalem. This is against Synoptic tradition, and a new solution is needed for this change of milieu. Matthew, like John, was an apostle, so eye-witness stood against eye-witness in the explanations that have been made. Ruling opinion decided in favor of John. Even Strauss thought of several journeys, believing that enmity would not have developed so quickly, and because the Synoptics show Jesus in Jerusalem. These grounds have no great weight. A quick development of the final catastrophe is not unthinkable, nor is it all gain to have him in Jerusalem more than once for that detracts from the final impressive journey which was significant only if it took place in connection with the whole movement described in the Synoptics. It is natural that John would try to make amends for that stage lacking in the Synoptics.

It is grounded in the whole economy of the gospel that at the beginning Jesus himself entered Jerusalem. The whole opposition which started in the unfaith of the Jews develops where this unbelief was most firmly established. If the Jews were to be brought to faith in him he had to come into vital touch with them, and Jerusalem would be the essential arena of Jesus' activity, and not without significance Jesus calls Judea his prophetic fatherland. Closely examined, the Johannine presentation reveals a certain dependence on the Synoptics. One rightly asks whether there is a series of events for whose knowledge we are indebted only to the Johannine

narrative. The difference between John and the Synoptics is one of time and place; the facts come from the Synoptic tradition. From this point of view many things are explained which belong to the content of our gospel. Jesus makes several festival journeys to Jerusalem but appears little as an observer of the Law; in the Synoptics he is closely connected with the Law and makes only one journey. The Synoptic tradition shines through; here we have its expansion from one journey to several.

What was the reason for Jesus' journey to Jerusalem? His first act was the cleansing of the temple (2: 14ff.), placed in the Synoptics at the end of the ministry. One critic prefers John, another the Synoptics; opinion is ranged against opinion. If it is once certain that a definite idea lies at the basis of the Johannine gospel one will see the difference in the time of Jesus' appearance in Jerusalem in close connection with this idea. There could be only one temple cleansing; it is a reformative act, it fits well at the beginning, so John projects it back. The demand for a sign is combined with this act, and Jesus said, "Destroy this temple and I will build it again in three days," a statement which was first understood after the resurrection. This could not possibly have been in the mind of Jesus. He could not speak thus. But that does not mean that the evangelist could not let him speak thus. His death in Synoptic tradition was in Jerusalem. John simply pushes back into the earlier period what belonged in the later. Jesus may speak only in veiled, cryptic tone. How can one accept 2: 19 and take offense at 3: 14? Can the serpent lifted up as a picture of death on the cross be more comprehensible to Nico-

demus than the tearing down and rebuilding of the temple in three days is to the Jews? John 2: 19 must be understood as referring to the resurrection which at the same time becomes a symbol of a new spiritual religion. John turns Synoptic tradition into symbols.

5. *Belief and Unbelief. Signs and Works.* Cc. 3-6.

Jesus did not yield to the demand of the Jews for a sign, but pointed to his death as the result of his activity; yet from his first appearance in Jerusalem signs suitable to awaken faith and belief are not lacking. In the two narratives of chapters 3-4 Jesus opposes definite individuals who are quite apart from Synoptic tradition, Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman. Both are valid for John as representing a certain class of people. Nicodemus represents believing Judaism receptive to the power and personality of Jesus, the impression of his miracles and works, the truth of his teaching. The Samaritan woman represents the heathen world receptive to belief in Jesus.

Nicodemus believes in Jesus as a teacher sent from God, and shows proof of his esteem and sympathy. But he comes at night; his belief is not true, decisive belief, but only because of the signs. Signs are external mediators of belief, and are necessary at first, but they have no inner worth. Jesus opposes Nicodemus with the birth from above out of the principle of spirit. Here is a teacher in Israel unable to raise himself above the sensually empirical ideas, who on this account lacks all receptivity for true faith. Intellectual incapacity is the reason so many do not have the true belief that leads to eternal life. Belief because of the signs is different, how-

ever, from genuine belief; it is the intellectual side where unbelief is the ethical; it shows the same love of mankind for darkness. In the simple classification of people into those who love light and those who love darkness Nicodemus belongs with the latter, because his belief is external and unspiritual.

The Samaritan woman did not understand everything, but she longed for the water which would forever quench thirst, and she had confidence in the omniscience of the Messiah concerning God. Her belief, too, has an external basis, the words, and after two days the Samaritans believed because they heard and knew the truth of Jesus' Messiahship. This belief is not the highest, most complete belief; still it is the first stage of receptivity to it, and it is in contrast with that of Nicodemus whose external belief is not essentially different from the unfaith of the Jews. In the belief of the Samaritan woman the believing world stands out in the bright light of a ripe harvest field. It is the pre-view of the great harvest awaiting them in the heathen world. Probably John had *Acts* before him, where Samaria was the transition from the Jews to the Gentiles.

The healing of the ruler's son (4: 46-54) follows these two narratives, perhaps not accidentally. Those narratives stress belief in Jesus, either through signs or through supernatural knowledge. He deprecates faith built on signs as worthless, as leading to false external belief. How then can he perform such a miracle and thus encourage a low type of faith? What is true belief? It is belief through the word in direct relation to him as divine Logos. The point of this miracle is the healing at a distance; the word did the deed and must be believed before one sees that it

happened or even without seeing it. This is true faith as against false faith which will not believe without signs and wonders. The first miracle, that at Cana, proved the greatness and splendor of Jesus as Messiah, the positive side of miracle as a *work* of God, expressing the divine, the true spiritual character of the activity of the Messiah. This second miracle represents the negative aspect of signs and wonders, belief in which reaches out beyond them and no longer demands such mediation.

Real unbelief is treated in chapters 5-6. The unbelief identical with belief based on signs takes them as something firmly divine; unbelief, as such, does not see divine *works* in the signs and so denies divine character to them. This unbelief is represented in the conduct of the Jews toward a sign that proclaimed itself a divine *work*, a healing miracle. Because of this miracle the Jews persecute Jesus and plan to kill him. Here is the practical significance of unbelief. Jesus' work on the Sabbath could be no divine *work*. Miracle is conceived as the creative activity of God. When, therefore, the Jews deny the miracle as a divine work they are showing the complete lack of a mind receptive to God and divine revelation. Unbelief in Jesus is unbelief in God. This unbelief is caught in an inner contradiction; he who does not believe on Jesus does not believe on Moses; if they do not believe on Moses why all this zeal about the Sabbath? Here is the inner futility of unbelief; it will not believe the works of God. It should be noted that here the issue is *works*, not signs. The emphasis is on the divine activity which works the signs, but they are only a part of that activity. The signs as *signs* have one aspect, as *works* they have another, which

minimizes their specific miracle-character. What remains is the divine power in Jesus working them.

Jesus' next discourse deals with the idea of the Logos as the absolute life-principle made explicit in the life and Messianic activity of Jesus. He is the principle which creates, nourishes and maintains all spiritual life and gives it eternal permanence. The idea of the divine life-principle conceived as the bread of life which comes down from heaven, Jesus the Logos become flesh, is pictured here. Only the one who unites himself to the heavenly bread of life does not die; only he who eats his flesh and drinks his blood remains in him. Now unbelief takes on a new form. The people demand a visible sign, manna, relating to sensual enjoyment. He is the bread of life but they cannot grasp the relation between this bread and the person whose human origin they know. Even more confusing is the matter of eating his flesh and drinking his blood which seems impossible to them. They had not the capacity to see the spiritual implication, and so were repelled and angry. He who does not understand that Jesus' words are spirit and life is no disciple. The essential unbelief of the Jews is ethical and has its root in the will; it was in positive hostile opposition to Jesus from the beginning. It cannot raise itself above the sensual; it has no receptivity for the spiritual. Among the Twelve was Judas, the evidence that false and true belief can go together until they finally separate forever. Even with Judas unbelief concealed itself under the cover of belief; when many left, he remained; intellectual capacity for the spiritual was apparently there; egoistic interests prevailed; it turned out as real incapacity

for the spiritual. The two work together. Chapter 6 describes unbelief appearing in the form of belief. The dialectical refutation is complete when it sees itself as positive unbelief.

6. *The Dialectical Battle with Unbelief.* 7: 1-10: 42.

Jesus' presence at a new festival introduces a new section in which radical unbelief, peculiar to the Jews, carries on this battle to its final decision. Jesus stands in the midst of an unbelieving world which includes even the disciples and his own family. This unbelief is general and widespread, and the center of all these radii is the unbelief of the Jews in Judea and in Jerusalem. If Jesus is to battle the unbelief of the world, he must meet it in its appropriate center, and so the author has Jerusalem the first scene of Jesus' activity.

The general thought lying at the basis of the argument in chapter 7 is that Jesus' divinity is evident and incontrovertible. Unbelief is the announced contradiction of the Messianic divinity of Jesus. There are three different acts in which Jesus meets the unbelief of the Jews. He appears first in secret, is so impressive and unknown that his "Why do you seek to kill me?" is taken as a foolish speech, whereupon he reminds them of the miracle on the Sabbath when they had sought to kill him, and held up before them the contradiction in their zeal for the Law. Regardless of evidence he cannot be the Messiah for no one knows who the Messiah is or whence he came. In 7: 29 Jesus openly declares that he comes from God, while in the third act he declares himself one in whom the Messianic spirit dwells in an absolute manner, the source of living water for every one. Unbelief now re-

verses itself and states that the Messiah must come from Bethlehem, and Jesus is known to have come from Galilee. The dialectic of unbelief is futile.

From 8:12 on are drawn the necessary consequences that result from unbelief. He who does not believe knows nothing of God. He who knows not God does not have God as Father, and if he is not a child of God he must be a child of the devil. In 8:30-58 everything helps to lead the unbelief of the Jews back to the devil as the principle of lies and murder. He who believes knows the truth and through it will be free, mainly from sins. Jews do not understand this spiritual freedom; they believe that as children of Abraham they are free. But they are not Abraham's children. Since murder is in their hearts they are children of Satan, the father of murder. The basis of their unbelief is that they are not from God and therefore cannot hear God's words. In their unbelief the Jews will be nothing else than irreligious. It is zeal for their religion that drives them to unbelief.

The narrative of the healing of the man born blind belongs to the same polemic as chapters 7-8. The healing of chapter 9 is in the same class as that of chapter 5. Both happened on the Sabbath. As the principle of life and light Jesus glorifies himself in the man born blind by making him see. The Jews' argument is that no sinner could do such a wonderful deed; the man who does not observe the Sabbath, therefore, cannot have done the ostensible miracle. But the miracle stands in defiance of all argument; the man healed publishes the fact. The miracle is a *work* and its pure objectivity is represented in the man born blind. The man sees the work of God but he does not know Jesus as the Messiah; he is still blind though he sees.

The Pharisees are well acquainted with Jesus and all his works, yet they are unyielding deniers of these *works*. They see and are blind. The works of Jesus announce his divinity so loudly that only the wilfully blind can deny them. Unbelief has its judgment in itself.

There is no special motive in chapter 10 for the pursuit of the main idea of the gospel. Here Jesus is the good shepherd, neither robber nor hireling. The Pharisees are like the latter with no real concern for the welfare of the flock. Here the shepherd as personal takes the central place, previously held by *works*. Pharisees replace Jews. A new festival calls Jesus and this section 10:22-42 serves as the conclusion of one of the great divisions of the Johannine gospel. Jesus' significance is seen in his greatness and power to produce signs. They reflect his inner essence. As an individual act a sign is of momentary importance, as a work of God it is of divine content. Jesus' divinity and unity with God is the important thing for this gospel. The *works* arouse belief in his person. The gospel literally hangs on these signs, the whole treatment advances on them, the evangelist demands belief in the works; they represent the whole public life and activity of Jesus.

7. *The Raising of Lazarus.* Cc. 11-12.

The narrative of the raising of Lazarus is one of the most important factors in determining in which area of gospel tradition, Synoptic or Johannine, historical fact is to be found. Here Jesus' fate is linked with the event. It is unthinkable that such an event, if factual, would have been omitted by the Synoptics. If such a fact were deliberately omitted it would discredit the whole Synoptic portrayal. Out of that silence we may assume the lack of historicity of the nar-

rative. It could not have arisen as myth, or remain unknown, once existent. It is neither myth nor history; it goes back to the evangelist. The reason for it lies in the inner economy of the gospel in the way it represents the miracles of Jesus as portraying a continuing series of manifestations of his glory. Every miracle is a new manifestation of the divine splendor and greatness of Jesus, a new stage in the process of belief and unbelief worked out in his whole public life and work. Here is shown absolute power in the raising of a person four days in the grip of death and the grave. The greater the miracle, the greater the divine $\delta\delta\zeta\alpha$ revealed in it, and the more it must now come to the last decisive crisis of unbelief. Johannean miracles are planned ones, planned with a purpose.

After the raising of Lazarus Jesus departs to a distant place but only for a brief time. His case is decidedly quickly and he is back in Bethany, the point of departure for the imminent catastrophe. His death is to be the supreme moment of glorification. The Greeks who appear on the scene represent the receptivity of the heathen world in the face of the power of the unbelief of the Jews which achieved its victory in his death. But out of his death is to arise the community of believers, the other sheep of the parable. Thus is shown the importance of the death of Jesus. There is no Gethsemane; death is only the gateway to the $\delta\delta\zeta\alpha$. The powers of darkness and light are close together. Everything hinges on the idea of the Logos speaking the words of the Father.

8. *The Discourses of Jesus to the Disciples.* Ce. 13-17.

A distinguishing feature of John's gospel is the series of discourses inter-

posed between the moment of readiness for his fate and the moment of his arrest. Jesus has already put himself in the most decided opposition to the unbelief of the Jews; the result of his life and work was indeed "that they did not believe on him." It is no less true that without belief in him there is no eternal life. He turns from the unbelief of the world to the belief of the disciples; they are to be the means of bringing the world to belief in Jesus. So Jesus works to bring them to the same relationship with him as he has to the Father.

The evangelist brought all together in the great prayer of chapter 17. This whole section treats only of the disciples and the destiny which they as apostles of Jesus should fulfill in the world. On their activity depends the glorification of Jesus and of the Father, because the eternal life coming into the world through belief in Jesus can be shared only if mankind knows the one true God and him whom he sent, and after the departure of Jesus this knowledge can come to men only through the apostles. Jesus asks the Father to glorify him through that glory which he had before the world existed, in his capacity as Logos, the principle of light and life for mankind. The prayer then passes to the disciples who are distinguished by special receptivity, the gift of God, so that they are the true bearers of the consciousness of God shared with men through him. The unity of the believers will be accomplished through the sharing of the splendor of Christ.

9. *The History of the Passion and Death of Jesus.* Ce. 18-19.

In the discourses of chapters 14-17 whose basic idea is 16:33, "I have overcome the world," Jesus had brought himself to the threshold of supernatural

splendor. The external course of his glorification, however, is the history of the suffering and death in which the unbelief of the Jews won its highest conquest, but a conquest which at its height changed into defeat.

Nowhere is John so near to the Synoptic portrayal as in the story of the Passion, therefore here is the place to compare the claims that in John the Synoptics find their completion. Here too the same basic idea rules, not simply a transition into historical narrative. The arrest, trial and execution of Jesus is the work of Jewish unbelief, but the heathen world shared that guilt since the death came through the decision of the Roman procurator, by Roman soldiers in the form determined by Roman Law. Synoptic tradition indicated that Pilate was convinced of Jesus' innocence and would have pardoned him except for the influence of the Jews.

In the first discussion between Pilate and Jesus (18:33ff.) the evangelist allows Pilate to speak out candidly that he was drawn into the affair only through Jewish interest, since it did not belong in his province. The failure of the first attempt to rescue Jesus did not prevent the Roman governor from making a second. He took Jesus and let him be scourged. Why? This was Roman custom before an execution. Later Pilate is not inclined to assent to the demands of the Jews. In opposition to Luke this evangelist is silent about the scourging connected with the crucifixion, and it is against all probability to suppose a double scourging since the Synoptics speak of but one. John's account connects with his interest in making Pilate a defender of the innocence of Jesus against the complaints of the Jews. John takes as actual fact what Luke

mentions only hypothetically. Pilate appeals to their sympathy, the scourging was enough, and for the third time he says he finds no fault in him (19:6).

The Jews, able to accomplish so little through Pilate, now adopt a new approach. They charge again that he had made himself equal with God. By this evangelist "Son of God" is not taken as Messiah but in the sense of that likeness with God of which Jesus spoke in this gospel, and is in plain connection with the Logos-idea. This was not a political idea, and the Jews were in the right here, for this belonged to their law. Pilate then questions Jesus as to whether he was of divine or of human descent. Jesus' answer was an implied affirmative when he said that Pilate's power over him came from above. More important is Pilate's relation to the Jews. He shared their guilt in that he lets himself be used as a tool. The Jews' guilt is not greater in using the tool than is Pilate's in being the tool. If the tool came from above both Pilate and the Jews are equally innocent.

Finally, when charged with ungraciousness to the Emperor, Pilate yields, and no longer hinders the violence of the people. Pilate's interest in Jesus is borrowed from the evangelist. It is a ruse to push back the guilt on to the Jews. This scene is in keeping with the outlook of this gospel with its conflict of the heathen and the Jews in regard to Jesus.

The greater the differences between John and the Synoptics the more clearly we see his peculiar point of view. A crucial passage is 19:34-37 which describes blood and water gushing out from the pierced side. Is this the result of eye-witnessing or the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy? Interpreters

have insisted on taking this literally and materialistically. Rather it should be seen in reference to the main goal of the gospel. It is an impossibility that blood and water can gush forth from a dead person. The evangelist is dealing with the significance of the death. We must look for the artistic, symbolic significance; we must take the words in a pictorial sense. In connection with 7:38-39 where Jesus speaks of the living water which would flow out from those believing on him, the evangelist adds in explanation that Jesus said this of the Spirit which believers would receive after his death. Here is the key to the explanation. The water is the picture of the Spirit; blood is the symbol of death, and death is the necessary hypothesis under which the Spirit can be so shared by the believers that also from the bodies of believers streams of living water will flow. Christ is the source of the living water which the believers share. The two passages belong together. The evangelist's soul moves here in the moment in which the death of Jesus has its highest reality; he sees the death plainly as the beginning of all blessings which are said to go out from him and fulness of spiritual life could now in his death first pass over to the believers.

10. *The Story of the Resurrection of Jesus.* Ch. 20.

In 19:34-37 the glorification of Jesus immanent in and identical with his death is announced. This glorification is not merely Jesus' departure to the Father, but also the sharing of the Spirit. If the spirit is the flowing forth of the living water from his body the glorification is already accomplished in death.

The glorification of Jesus, however, has for its hypothesis the resurrection and cannot be separated from it. On the negative side is the empty grave (20:1-13), on the positive (20:17) there is the relationship of the departure to the Father and the descent of the Spirit. This evangelist takes resurrection and ascension together. It is thus in the farewell discourse of Jesus. His departure to the Father is the beginning of the most blessed relationship in which the disciples receive the Holy Spirit from the Father (16:26 ff.).

The purely philosophical questions regarding miracle have no place in exegesis. Jesus' appearance was not a matter of vision-experience for the disciples. Jesus appeared neither bodily nor as a vision but in spiritual ways for the sharing of his Spirit. However one thinks of the act of inspiring (afflation) it is certain that through this act the disciples received the Spirit. Consider the farewell discourse; this gospel has an inner unity which fits into a whole; Jesus talks about sharing the Spirit. What coming and seeing again is spoken of in these discourses? The coming of the Son is as little a bodily one as the coming of the Father; they both come to make their dwelling in the disciples. In this sharing of the Spirit all barriers which separate this side from that other side will be raised.

If the Lord is risen, gone to the Father, if the Spirit is shared with the disciples, then all is completed which belongs to the content of gospel history. Why should the Lord appear again? The second appearance described is to contradict the unbelief of Thomas, but this appearance is in very close connection with the first. Only unbelief

says, "What I do not see I do not believe." Yet how can one believe that the Lord has risen if one has not seen him? It thus converts itself into a *sign*. Again we see belief on its lower range seeking outside itself what it should have within itself. Unbelief had appeared first in the circle of disciples with Nathanael's "what good can come out of Nazareth?" and in the circle of disciples the last trace of unbelief now vanished. Thus the evangelist holds to the main theme of his presentation from beginning to end, and beginning and end join in a unity of the same ideas.

The spiritualized resurrection and the sharing of the Spirit connect clearly with the Johannine Christology. Jesus goes back to the Father from whom he had come. Before he came into the world and became flesh, as divine Logos he had been with the Father, *Logos asarkos*. He finally put off the earthly husk of flesh to attain to his former purity and unity with the Father, a unity of spirit since He is Spirit. Relative to the human side in the achievement of salvation we remember Jesus' words that the flesh profits nothing; it is the spirit that makes alive. Yet in 1:14 the flesh seemed to be the necessary condition of the Logos in the world. If the death of Jesus was necessary in the divine economy it was his flesh which must of necessity be offered. The real meaning of the sentence about flesh and spirit is a general reference to the person of Christ; the flesh has no absolute significance; his relation to it is not necessary and inseparable, and in this gospel he is pictured as sloughing it off in the moment of resurrection and departure. We remember that this assuming flesh in this gospel was not so firm and materialistic as to render his final dissolution so

doubtful. He was the divine Logos, the life-principle. Even in his incarnation the Logos remains so much the absolute subject that a truly human subject could never appear in his place; even when he appears in flesh and becomes the historical Jesus he is the same divine subject which he formerly was and which now appears to want to break the boundaries which surround his sensible appearance; already the flesh which he has taken appears only as the light, immaterial covering hovering around him. There are passages in this gospel that seem to indicate a docetic view, for example the enigmatic Jesus suddenly vanishing, an invisible and concealed existence. It seems that when everything is considered there are grounds for seeing in this gospel the idea of a spiritual form of the resurrection which is essentially grounded in the Johannine Christology.

11. *The Unauthentic Appendix.* 20:30-31.

Most critics see chapter 21 as ungenue. 20:30-31 does not fit as the conclusion of a gospel where Jesus is pictured as a person from heaven. "And many other signs" weakens the impression of Jesus' previous words. If 20:29 is the last section, this section closes as did the second section 12:44-50, and also Matthew closes.

To his contemporaries, partly due to the influence of Schleiermacher's preference for the Gospel of John, the criticism of Baur seemed unduly radical. Our contemporaries seem to be recovering the idea that the gospels do have tendencies and this should bring a more vivid appreciation of Baur's work on the Gospel of John than has been the case.

It is significant that a modern author could say in 1940,

Christianity would be much nearer its goal today if the Church had followed Baur rather than Schleiermacher in this matter [i.e., the criticism of John's gospel] and had not lost

the historical Jesus in the cold, white mists of Johannine mysticism. In this direction twentieth-century scholarship still limps behind Baur and Strauss.³

³ C. C. McCown, *The Search for the Real Jesus*, 1940, 99.

RALPH CUDWORTH AND THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS

By W. NORMAN PITTENGER

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Ralph Cudworth, who for thirty-four years was Master of Christ's College in Cambridge and Professor of Hebrew in the university, is interesting to us not merely for his own sake but also because he was the most erudite, if not the most powerful, of the group of Cambridge divines of the seventeenth century who are known by the name of Cambridge Platonists. Appearing in a period which had been somewhat barren so far as gentle life and quiet thought were concerned, this school once more turned the English Church back to its "old loving-mother," the Platonic philosophy. Although it was only for a brief time, yet the new vitality which was given to that union of Platonism and Christianity characteristic of the Christian tradition in one of its aspects has had remarkable effect on the later history of the Church of England. And even today, we must not forget that the three outstanding Anglican religious philosophers of our age, Professor A. E. Taylor, Dr. W. R. Inge and Archbishop Temple, are all in the succession of the Christian Platonists.

Cambridge seemed an odd place for the revival of Platonism in the English Church. But most extraordinary of all is the fact that Emmanuel College was

the spot where the actual movement got under way. For Emmanuel, during the trying days under Queen Elizabeth and James I, had been notorious for its Puritanism. But with Richard Holdsworth as its head, that aberration had been corrected, for at least Holdsworth declared that "our church is happier far than others, who traces her origin to no popular insurrection, has inherited no maimed and mutilated priesthood, no novel discipline soon to disappear, but whatever stands forth to view as confirmed by Councils and defined by ancient fathers, and originating in apostolic times—this she has restored, maintained, and handed down for our observance."

The Cambridge Platonists, whose names include Cudworth, John Smith, Benjamin Whichcote, Nathaniel Culverel, Peter Sterry and Henry More, came, most of them, from Puritan backgrounds; but they had learned from Holdsworth and others, and particularly by drinking deeply of the new Greek learning which flourished at Cambridge in the non-divinity schools, that narrowness was not the necessary mark of the Christian; and they came to find that Puritanism could hardly contain all the truth of Christ's religion. The rationalism which they found in the Greeks

was sharply opposed to the irrationalism of much of contemporary Protestantism; while on the other hand, what they felt to be the excesses of some of the more Catholic divines seemed equally unhappy to them. And so they remained a school by themselves, influencing indirectly rather than directly the whole development of English theology.

What were the characteristics of the school? First there was a sincere trust in the human reason and its ability to discover truth. The Platonists respected scientific enquiry and human thought generally; for them reason was the supreme attribute of man. Religious faith was never to be regarded as contradictory to reason; rather it was reason grown courageous and taking wings. One of them was once asked about the relation of reason to the spiritual; and he replied, "Why, spiritual is most rational." From this there follows a second fundamental consideration. Like Clement of Alexandria, they saw the human soul progressing from reason through faith to love. Charity must govern all things, and as God's nature is love, so love towards him is the characteristic mark of man, while evil (as Whichcote intimated, and Smith plainly said) is negation—a reality only in our phenomenal world. Love and goodness are with reason the mark of the divine in the human mind; and between man and God there is no mediator save Christ only, who is God's reason become incarnate, love and goodness enfleshed and dwelling among us, full of grace and truth.

We can see that there was a close dependence here on the neo-Platonists, whether pagan or Christian. Certainly the parallel with the Alexandrine school is too clear to be missed, and the in-

fluence of Plotinus and his interpreter, Porphyry, is also obvious. Man's reason is the candle of the Lord, and to know the truth is to know God. Only God can know truth in its fullness, for only he knows himself as he really is; our knowledge is dimmer, partial, as in a mirror; but yet it is true knowledge as far as it goes, and it will grow clearer as we grow closer to God in love and faith. As the Quaker Pennington once remarked: the shadow is a real shadow, even as the substance is a real substance.

Because of their trust in man's reason, the Cambridge men welcomed the new philosophy of their day, and in some respects they show curious likeness to Malebranche, the disciple (and perhaps corrector) of Descartes. But their principal interest was not in this field, but in theology proper. Here their position resulted in a sharp contrast to the current theology with its notion of the utter depravity of man, or (when it was more optimistic) at least his very inadequate abilities. They trusted man, and they believed that God had not cast him off. They did not deny the fall, but to them it had weakened, not ruined, the human creature. The great philosophers had been given real glimpses of the truth, and the natural light which is granted each one of us will enable us to understand the truth which is revealed to us.

To the Cambridge Platonists, that was the whole point of the coming of the Christ. He who is Reason Incarnate, came "to open and unfold to us the true way of recourse to God . . . for uniting the souls of men to him, and deriving a participation of God to man, to bring in the everlasting righteousness." These words are from Smith, but Cudworth has similar: "The great

mystery of the gospel doth not lie only in Christ without us (though we must know also what he hath done for us) but the very pith and kernel of it consists in Christ inwardly formed in our hearts. Nothing is truly ours, but what lives in our spirits. Salvation itself cannot save us as long as it is only without us; no more than health can cure us and make us sound when it is not within us, but somewhere at a distance from us." The point of these quotations is that Christ is the natural light within men, and by his incarnation in history he has shown man's true nature, so awakening and developing his latent powers, and, by dwelling in man as an informing spirit makes possible the ascent in faith and love towards the Father.

Coupled with these convictions is a profound sense of the moral in Christianity. The supreme element in the gospels is its ethical content. The religious life must flower out into the moral, or it is a sham and unworthy of the name. Christianity is a way of life, and the inner experience must show its fruits in men's conversation with their fellows.

It will at once be seen that there could be little sympathy between these men and contemporary Calvinism, with the latter's harsh separation of the divine and human, its doctrine of absolute predestination, its parodying of the love of God and its distrust of all the human affections and faculties. Their sympathy should have been with the Catholic school in the Church of England, but it could hardly be so, for they equally resented what they felt to be the fanaticism of this group and its concern for the institutional and ceremonial matters of Christianity. The Cambridge men could not quite see that a

religion must be more than idea or philosophy; it must be expressed in institutions, and if it is to reach the common folk whom God loves, it must be "embodied in a tale," in outward acts and visible signs. Their sacramentalism, like so much today that calls itself "a sacramental view of life," was impatient of the particular instances of that sacramental in our life. Therefore it tended to become a general term, although with them it never descended into that so-called "mysticism" which should be spelled with an "i," not a "y" and which so often passes for sacramentalism in our own time.

The Cambridge men favored the episcopate, which they believed to be the best form of church government, and they dissented from the presbyterian model of government set up by Parliament at Cambridge. They wished an ordered and decent church polity and seemly services, but they had no desire to force their likes on others, and they disliked controversy over religious matters. Cudworth, in one sermon, deprecated too much concern with these externals, urging that if "we did but heartily comply with the commandments and purge our hearts from all gross and sensual affections . . . we should find the great Eternal God inwardly teaching our souls." And as a result, presumably, we should no longer be concerned with externalities.

In short, what these men did not possess was that which is one of the great glories of the Catholic tradition—that is, external religion. Whether they realized it or not, they minimized and even neglected the deepest implications of the incarnation of God in Christ; for if the divine has come down and dwelt among us in our common human

substance, not merely is the whole of this world shown to be sacramental, but the religion which carries on that divine life also fundamentally is sacramental and must find God primarily although not exclusively in sacraments and signs and symbols. In this matter, the Cambridge Platonists were wrong, and Laud and his friends were right.

With so much by way of giving a picture of the Cambridge school as a whole, let us briefly consider Cudworth, the intellectual leader of the group. He was born at Aller in Somerset, the son of a priest who was rector of this small village near Langport. His father was a former Fellow of Emmanuel, and when he was fifteen the youth was sent to that college. On completing his studies, he was appointed a tutor. Later he became Master of Clare. A short time afterwards he was made Regius Professor of Hebrew in the university, an appointment won through the parliamentary commissioners—which implies that at this time he was sympathetic with the Puritans. In 1654 he was made the Master of Christ's College. During this earlier period he published a number of works on theological questions, but his great book, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, was not published until 1678. Only part of the complete study was given to the world, for the publication of the first section stirred up a terrific disturbance; Cudworth was accused of everything from Socinianism to deism and "artful infidelity" to the Christian faith. Ten years later, in 1688, he died. He had been given a prebend of Gloucester shortly before that time, but had continued his studies in Cambridge.

We may make brief comments on some of Cudworth's contributions to

philosophy and theology. One of his notable works was a discourse on the Lord's Supper, which he published in 1642. Here he argues strongly against transubstantiation and denies the essentially sacrificial nature of the Eucharist, although he is convinced that it has some sacrificial sense in that it commemorates "the great Sacrifice." On the whole, his views on the Lord's Supper parallel those of the typical Anglican divines of the time; there is a presence in the Eucharist, and whatever sacrifice there may be is commemorative, the offering of thanksgiving and of our hearts and bodies to God.

Cudworth was a defender of the theological and philosophical discipline. In a sermon preached before the House of Commons, in 1647, he made an eloquent plea for Parliament's patronage of learning—curious enough in view of later developments in that body. He declares that all knowledge proceeds from God, and teaches that philosophy, as divine wisdom, is the height of learning. Nevertheless, Christianity is a matter of love, and Christ is master of life, not of the school. Learning, vitally important, must issue from and in "a certain divine temper and constitution of soul."

In other of his sermons, Cudworth shows his fondness for the Logos doctrine, especially in the sense in which it was understood by the Christian Platonists of the early church. He will have none of Christianity as merely historical, although he is insistent on the actual incarnation of God in Christ who, as he quotes from Athanasius, is "God veiled to draw us up to him." But there is a divine life potential in each man, and it is to bring this life to birth and make its development deep and rich that the

historical incarnation took place in Palestine. "It will not avail us to believe that he was born of a Virgin, unless the power of the most High overshadow our hearts and beget him there likewise." The Christian, then, is to be preserved by the mystical Christ. The historic incarnation is a "great design long carried in the womb of eternity"; and it makes clear the essential truth of the universe, by revolutionizing our understanding of God and man and their relationship. Cudworth, loyal disciple of Plato, teaches the identification of the idea of the Good and God, an identification which Plato seems always to wish to make and then to fall short of making. God is God because he is perfect goodness; our goodness is a reflection of his perfection, and the defection of man from that goodness is ended by the historic event of the birth of Christ and Christ's goodness "strongly reaching all things."

Sin as is usual with this Christian Platonist tradition is regarded (in Cudworth's own words) as "nothing but straitness, poverty and non-entity," the result of self-will and the negation of God. Therefore in what we might term metaphysical regard, it is non-existent, although it is a terrible reality here below. The incarnation was God's way of dealing with sin; and the atonement is effected not by an external act, but by God's dwelling in our hearts through the engrafted word of Christ.

Of his treatise entitled *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, we need say nothing beyond that it is presumably an attempt to reply to Hobbes' materialistic views in philosophy. It was to be in three parts, but only half of it was published. In that which appeared, he discusses morality

and free-will. His thought centers about innate notions which reflect the eternal ideas in the mind of God, and from this he draws important conclusions regarding the nature of human conduct and freedom. Another treatise, on *Eternal and Immutable Morality*, was published fifty years after his death. It is a defense of idealism, more or less along Platonic lines, although the influence of Descartes is more apparent here than elsewhere in his writings. God is "that infinite and eternal mind" which "contains the plot of the whole mundane music," and our minds are reflections or reproductions of his mind. By virtue of this fact, man has in himself a guide to moral conduct which is a participation in the mind of God himself.

This paper has had the misfortune to be concerned almost entirely with theology and philosophy. It must not be forgotten that the Cambridge School (and Cudworth as much as the rest) were concerned with practical religion, and their sermons show a keen insight into human nature and its problems. But they were primarily scholarly men; and they had the defects of their type of religious thought. Their Platonism was all too Platonic, without enough of the incarnational in it. They dwelt more in the realm of ideas than in the realm of facts, and failed to grasp as clearly as they might the close relation between the two which is the very genius of the Christian religion. And they never understood clearly the Hebrew insistence on God's priority in our thinking and acting, which our theology calls his "prevenience." Most of what they said was quite correct and proper; but they did not say enough.

If they could have gone on, recog-

nizing the Hebrew as well as the Greek element in Christian theology, and joined with the Catholic group in the Church of England, there might have been a marriage of high philosophy and the practical religion which means fearless contact with the dirt and grime of a world made up of sheer hard facts. It is, of course, foolish to talk of "what might have been"; yet we can picture

the development of a sacramentalism which remembering that God is ever beforehand to our seeking, likewise did not forget the universal in the particular, nor the particular in the universal, but realized all the implications of the fact that the Word was made flesh in a world which is itself the sphere of an eternal incarnational activity of that same Word.

THE THEOLOGY OF CHANNING AND THE *VIA AFFIRMATIVA*

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In this paper I wish to direct the reader's attention to an aspect of the thought of Channing which has been generally overlooked. It is, I am convinced, the most significant aspect, that which had the most meaning for him, and that which has the deepest import for us. But, if we are to appreciate it aright, we must first glance at the orthodox theology which Channing rejected.

The two great streams of traditional Christian thought—the Romanist and the Calvinist—agree in acknowledging the existence of a Deity whose essence wholly exceeds the grasp of the human intellect; consequently no predicate can be attributed to him in the same sense in which it can be ascribed to any finite being. Hence any statement with regard to God which is wholly and absolutely true must be a negative statement. If, for instance, we say that God is bodiless, without extension, immaterial, these assertions are true. It is, therefore, correct to affirm that, in this sense, we cannot know what God is, but only what he is not.

Were this affirmation made without any qualification we should at once be landed in complete agnosticism. To escape such a calamity it is admitted that certain positive statements can be made concerning God which, while they do not yield us knowledge in the strict sense of the term, yet do not leave us wholly in the dark. All such statements are based upon the principle of analogy which is intimately connected with the doctrine of degrees of being and truth. God alone really is. Every creature *has* being, which is imparted to it *ab extra*. God *is* being, pure being, containing unified in his simplicity the perfections which in lesser degrees are scattered among the plurality of finite existents. The gap between Creator and creature is infinite. The highest archangel is at a farther remove from pure being than it is from non-entity. The creatures themselves, however, constitute a scale of being. Thus we can see that an animal is superior to a stone, and that a man is at a higher level than an animal. Consequently the animal has more of

being than the stone, and the man than the animal.

If, therefore, we say that God is intelligent, the assertion is true so far as it goes, yet it is not adequate. It is true, for intelligence is a perfection, but God possesses all perfections. The intelligence of God, however, is infinitely superior to that of man so that no definite proportion exists between them. Moreover, while man *has* intelligence, God *is* intelligence. Again, if we say that God is good, the statement once more is true yet inadequate. The goodness of God is at an infinite remove from the goodness of man. Furthermore, goodness and intelligence are attributes of man, and different attributes. But God *has* no attributes; he *is* goodness and he *is* intelligence; hence in God goodness and intelligence are identical. To say that God is good or that God is intelligent is to make affirmations which are as nearly adequate as the limitations of our thinking will suffer us to frame; they do not tell us what the divine essence is in itself, yet they point to an analogy which really exists between the divine and the human, and to this extent they are enlightening.

Of such a nature are the negative and affirmative ways which, according to the orthodox view, the human intelligence must follow in its thought of God. By reasoning along these lines there is much which we can learn by our own efforts, but there are also truths of a higher order at which we could never arrive in this manner, and which must, therefore, be communicated to us by revelation. Among these is the doctrine of the Trinity. All that human reason can do in the case of such doctrines is to state them with the greatest possible clarity, to show that they are not self-contradictory, and to advance in sup-

port of them certain arguments which may be deemed persuasive, although not conclusive, demonstration being in the nature of things admittedly out of the question.

To this traditional position both the Neoscholasticism of the Roman Church and the Calvinistic Neoscholasticism of M. Lecerf and his followers still adhere. It has, however, been deserted by Karl Barth and his disciples who, in their desire to stress the transcendence of God, the utter dependence of the creature, and the indispensability of revelation, have completely repudiated the *analogia entis*. The problem which we are considering thus constitutes one of the storm centres of contemporary thought around which swirl the blasts of controversy.

It might well be supposed that the Unitarian, who is so given to reproaching his orthodox brother for the multiplicity of his dogmas, would have viewed with approval so cautious an approach on the part of Trinitarian theologians to the problem of man's knowledge of God, and that, in so far as he dissented from it, he would be inclined to anticipate the Barthians in their rejection of the *analogia entis*, and to be content, as the ancient Jewish thinker Maimonides was content, with a knowledge of God which is purely negative. I hope to show, however, that, so far at least as Channing is concerned, such is not the case, that the implications of his teaching point in precisely the opposite direction, that they involve the renunciation of an analogous knowledge of God only because they would substitute for it a knowledge which is avowedly univocal.¹

I am, of course, well aware that such is not the impression which one would

¹ *Univocal* is to be taken as meaning in the same sense. It is the opposite of *equivocal*.

acquire from a perusal of contemporary Unitarian literature. Open practically any book or pamphlet which proceeds from the Beacon Press and you will be told the same story. The name Unitarian is a misnomer, an intellectual calamity, the result of accident. It voices a mere denial, a protest, a negation. It has reference to a doctrine of inferior importance, once the vortex of controversy but now devoid of interest for intelligent persons. In reality it was the dogmas of the Fall of Man, Original Sin, Eternal Perdition, and the Substitutionary Atonement that the early liberals found morally objectionable and practically harmful. And the revolt against these was directed ultimately against ecclesiastical and creedal authority, against all constraint upon the conscience and the intellect of the individual. The humanistic interest was present, at least in germ, and was the truly significant factor in the whole controversy. As for Channing himself, the key to his life is the moment of insight under the Harvard willows when he glimpsed the dignity of man. It was this that inspired his noblest eloquence, and constitutes what will be recognized as of abiding value in his teaching when the dust raised by theological combat has at last been allowed to settle in unending repose.

Turn to Channing's writings themselves, however, and you will find there a very different man from the one portrayed in accounts of the type which I have just paraphrased. The interests attributed to him were genuinely his, but they were not his only interests, and the topic which concerned him most has not even been mentioned. As a matter of fact Channing was far from being a typical Unitarian, even in his own day,

and was himself thoroughly aware that such was the case.² And it is quite clear that he found in the Unitarian gospel something positive, something of transcendent importance, something worth stating clearly, worth defending, worth propagating.

"That we desire to propagate this doctrine," he declared in a famous sermon, "we do not attempt to conceal. It is a treasure which we wish not to confine to ourselves, which we dare not lock up in our own breasts. We regard it as given for others, as well as for ourselves. We should rejoice to spread it through this great city, to carry it into every dwelling, and to send it far and wide to the remotest settlements of our country. Am I asked why we wish this diffusion? We dare not say that we are in no degree influenced by sectarian feeling; for we see it raging around us, and we should be more than men were we wholly to escape an epidemic passion. We do hope, however, that our main purpose and aim is not sectarian, but to promote a purer and nobler piety than now prevails. We are not induced to spread our opinions by the mere conviction that they are true; for there are many truths, historical, metaphysical, scientific, literary, which we have no anxiety to propagate. We regard them as the highest, most important, most efficient truths, and therefore demanding a firm testimony and earnest efforts to make them known."³

The doctrine which Channing in these words has professed himself so anxious to spread he has already set forth in the preceding paragraph of his sermon. It is not any theory of the dignity of man; on the contrary, it is the doctrine of the unity of God and the derived and subordinate nature of Christ. And, if we turn to the famous Baltimore sermon, we find it there accorded a similar emphasis.

² Cf. the second paragraph of his sermon on "The Great Purpose of Christianity" in his *Works*, pp. 246-247.

³ Unitarian Christianity Most Favorable to Piety," *Works*, p. 385.

"We believe," Channing asserts, "in the doctrine of God's Unity, or that there is one God, and one only. To this truth we give infinite importance, and we feel ourselves bound to take heed lest any man spoil us of it by vain philosophy. The proposition that there is one God seems to us exceedingly plain. We understand by it that there is one being, one mind, one person, one intelligent agent, and one only, to whom underived and infinite perfection and dominion belong."⁴

Now a doctrine to which a man attaches "infinite importance" cannot fairly be described as a secondary element in his teaching. Moreover, it is put first, it is given the greatest stress; obviously, then, it was for Channing himself of primary importance. The conclusion, therefore, is inescapable that the denial of the Trinity was for him only incidental to the affirmation of the divine unity.

How did Channing conceive of this unity? It is frequently assumed that the Unitarian is logically compelled to maintain that God is an absolute and indivisible unit, devoid of every form of plurality. Channing, however, betrays no such anxiety. It will have been observed that, in the passage cited above from the Baltimore sermon, he identifies the affirmation of the divine unity with the assertion that "there is one God and one only." In so doing it is clear that he is attempting merely to restate the teaching of the Gospels, for "the first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord."⁵ One Lord, one God—what do these terms signify? Channing is very sure what they signify—"one being, one mind, one person, one intelligent agent, and one only." In other words what he has in mind is, not mere numerical unity, but the unity in multiplicity of a fully integrated per-

sonality. Each of us knows what this means, for each of us is also a person. If this be true, at one stroke the negative theology collapses, and the affirmative theology, its analogical basis destroyed, is reinstated upon the principle of pure univocacy.

Did Channing know what he was doing? Did he realize the implications of his own utterances? Mediæval thought was subjected at that period to such undeserved disparagement that we might well suspect that neither the orthodox nor the liberals understood very clearly all that was involved in their respective affirmations and denials. Yet, when we turn to Channing's *Moral Argument against Calvinism*, we discover that his Calvinistic opponents were accustomed to argue that God, as an infinite being, is incomprehensible, and that consequently the human mind cannot pass judgment upon the divine goodness.⁶ Such reasoning is obviously based upon the principle of the *Via Negativa*, and Channing's reply makes it perfectly evident that he appreciated the point at issue, and was quite definite in his repudiation of the contention thus advanced.

God, he tells us, is *incomprehensible* in the sense that "he cannot be *wholly taken in or embraced* by the human mind," but he is not therefore "*unintelligible*." "God's goodness," he writes, "because infinite, does not cease to be goodness, or essentially differ from the same attribute in man; nor does justice change its nature, so that it cannot be understood, because it is seated in an unbounded mind."⁷

"We maintain," he adds in a subsequent passage, "that God's attributes are intelligible, and that we can conceive as truly of his good-

⁴ *Works*, p. 371.

⁵ Mark: 12: 29.

⁶ *Works*, pp. 461-462.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 464.

ness and justice as of these qualities in men. In fact, these qualities are essentially the same in God and man, though differing in degree, in purity, and in extent of operation. We know not and we cannot conceive of any other justice or goodness than we learn from our own nature; and if God have not these, He is altogether unknown to us as a moral being; He offers nothing for esteem and love to rest upon; the objection of the infidel is just, that worship is wasted: 'We worship we know not what.'"⁹

A more emphatic endorsement of the principle of univocacy could scarcely be desired. In other words God is an infinite person, but still a person; men are persons, and they know what personality involves. God is good, but men can be good also; we know what justice and kindness and love are in human beings; they are the same thing in God, infinitely greater in degree and unmixed with evil, yet the very qualities with which we are familiar in those about us. The difference is one of degree and not of kind; divine and human attributes are, not analogous, but simply identical.

This is indeed another gospel than the traditional teaching of the Church. Channing, of course, believed himself to be merely restating the essential message of the New Testament, yet it cannot be denied that his reinterpretation of it is characterized by a high degree of originality. Let us, accordingly, examine it a little more attentively.

In the first place it is evident that, to Channing's mind, it is one and the same thing to say that God is intelligible and to assert that attributes can be predicated of God and of the creature univocally.¹⁰ Such a claim would, no

doubt, be contested by the partisans of analogy. Nevertheless it seems fair enough to confront them with the following dilemma. If there be anything in common between the divine and the human, then *some* characteristic must be univocally predicable of both. If there be nothing in common, if such terms as goodness and justice and love do not mean when applied to God what they mean when ascribed to men, then we do not know what they do mean, and no multiplication of honorifics can mitigate our ignorance. Again, if goodness in God be other than goodness in man, if our lower standards be utterly transcended by the divine righteousness, how can we be sure that these standards of ours will not be contradicted by the supreme reality, that "goodness" in God may not be identical with what we should call wickedness? Such was, to all intents and purposes, the position of Channing's Calvinistic opponents, and—once the theistic hypothesis be admitted—it is difficult to see how it can be refuted except by an appeal to the principle of univocacy.

In the second place the application of this principle is rendered easy and its importance magnified by the doctrine of the unipersonality of God. Since each of us is a person, or—if the slightly more definite term be preferred—a self, and since selfhood can be predicated univocally of man and God, it follows that we know, not only *that* God is, but in the most vital of all respects *what* God is.

Here we find the very keynote of Channing's teaching. There can be no doubt that his thought on these matters was intimately connected with his own religious experience. His piety—and the assertion could be substantiated by thoroughly familiar with the *idea* which that term is used to express.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰ I do not mean that Channing anywhere makes use of the term *univocal*. Quite possibly he was entirely unacquainted with it. But I submit that the passages cited above render it clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that he was

a score of citations from his writings—was clearly of the type which we term mystical. For Channing, God could be loved and communed with precisely because he could be *understood*—understood as another, though an infinitely greater, self. “An Infinite Father,” he writes, “is the most exalted of all conceptions, and yet the least perplexing.”¹¹ “The more strict and absolute the unity of God,” he declares elsewhere, “the more easily and intimately all the impressions and emotions of piety flow together and are condensed into one glowing thought, one thrilling love. No language can express the absorbing energy of the thought of one Infinite Father.”¹² The “strict and absolute unity” which Channing here has in mind is obviously no mere arithmetical unity, but the oneness of a conscious personality.

In the light of statements such as these we can comprehend Channing’s rooted antipathy to the doctrine of the Trinity. It is not primarily because he believes the doctrine in question to be “irrational and unscriptural”—to use the favorite catchwords of the Unitarian. It is rather because it seems to him to destroy the very possibility of that blessed communion with God which he takes to be the essence of religion. He complains that “whilst acknowledging in words, it subverts in effect, the unity of God.”¹³

“Three persons, having distinctive qualities and relations, of whom one is sent and another the sender, one is given and another the giver, of whom one intercedes and another hears the intercession, of whom one takes flesh and another never becomes incarnate,—three persons, thus discriminated, are as truly three objects of the mind as if they were acknowledged to be separate divinities; and, from the principles of

our nature, they cannot act on the mind as deeply and powerfully as one Infinite Person, to whose sole goodness all happiness is ascribed. To multiply infinite objects for the heart is to distract it. To scatter the attention among three equal persons is to impair the power of each.”¹⁴ “In contemplating a being who presents such different and inconsistent aspects, the mind finds nothing to rest upon; and, instead of receiving distinct and harmonious impressions, is disturbed by shifting, unsettled images. To commune with such a being must be as hard as to converse with a man of three different countenances, speaking with three different tongues. The believer in this system must forget it when he prays, or he could find no repose in devotion.”¹⁵

The point of Channing’s contention is plainly the observation that the Persons of the Trinity have been so described that each must be understood to constitute a separate self, and that consequently we cannot, without violating the law of contradiction, equate them with a single self. Obviously, the force of his attack is vastly augmented by the acceptance of the principle of univocacy. If, in opposition thereto, the theory of analogy can be maintained, something may be done in the way of elaborating a defence. If selfhood in God be other than selfhood in man, perhaps we cannot be sure that three divine selves may not somehow be identical with a single divine self. But if the principle of univocacy be once admitted, it seems clear that Channing’s thrust cannot be parried. We must then choose between three divine selves—which is stark tritheism—and the Infinite Father in whom Channing believed.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

¹⁶ It may be instructive to see how the doctrine of the Trinity is envisaged by a contemporary philosopher who has familiarized himself with mediæval thought. Dr. C. D. Broad makes the following observation: “The God of Christianity is most certainly not a self. The Chris-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 387.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

Such would appear to be the inevitable consequences of a whole-hearted rejection of the negative way, and an equally whole-hearted adoption of the affirmative. Orthodox theologians have, therefore, shown there wisdom in making the *via negativa* and the *analogia entis* a first line of defence, inasmuch as the abandonment of these positions would clearly involve the collapse of the entire system. Philosophers and theologians of the so-called "liberal" school, on the other hand, for whom the problem of God is something to be worked out afresh, might well rally to the support of Channing, for in his thought there is a clarity which is prophetic. The statement will scarcely be contested that such thinkers as James Ward, G. Dawes Hicks, W. G. DeBurgh, F. R. Tennant, and E. S. Brightman have been moving in the direction which Channing first indicated, for they one and all profess to show us, not only *that* God is, but in very important respects *what* he is.

Now there is one very important characteristic of the univocal method which, in concluding, I wish to emphasize. The negative theology had its origin in the absolutism or pantheism—call it what you will—of the Neoplatonists.

tian God is the Trinity. This may be called 'personal,' in the sense that it is a society of three intimately related persons. But it is not personal, in the sense of being a self. The only sense in which it can be called 'personal' is that it has a set of parts each of which is a 'person.' But it is very doubtful whether, in calling each of the members of the Trinity a 'person,' theologians meant to assert that each of them is a self. I suppose that the Son is held to be a self, in a quite literal sense. I suspect that the Father would be described analogically as a 'self,' just as a sphere might be described analogically by a two-dimensional being as a 'circle.' But I should very much doubt whether the Holy Ghost would be described either literally or analogically as a self." (*Examination of McTaggart's Philosophy*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 643.)

It was not elaborated with the intention of defending the theistic position, and it was domiciled within Christian theology only after its influence had been in some measure neutralized by the introduction of the principle of analogy which enabled the affirmative method to some extent to function. But the union is an unnatural one, and its effect in practice is to take away with one hand what is given with the other.¹⁷ Moreover the pull of the original pantheistic source of the negative way is still operative. If God be essentially unknowable, if he be not good or intelligent in the same sense in which men are good and intelligent, nor a self in the same sense in which man is a self, if the highest of finite beings be at an infinite remove from pure being, and infinitely nearer non-being, then it seems clear that the Acosmist and the Vedantist are right after all, that the world is an illusion and that God alone is real.

The univocal method, on the other hand, takes the theistic hypothesis with deadly seriousness. It may be accused of making God too human, but at any rate it cannot be accused of making him less than human. If it can be applied successfully it will lead us to the God of religious experience, the God who hears prayer, who forgives and loves and suffers with us. The whole problem of theism is to-day in the philosophical crucible. The classical theism of the two ways has been tried, and, to the minds of many, found wanting. It would be foolish to deny that there are difficult problems to be faced. Yet perhaps a better fortune may await a theism which commits itself wholeheartedly to the theory of univocacy and the affirmative way.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the theory of analogy see my *Conception of God in the Philosophy of Aquinas*, ch. vii.

BISHOP BRENT — THE MAN AND HIS BOOKS

By FREDERICK WARD KATES

Christ Church, Oswego, New York

Many books there are which are wiser and finer than their authors, just as there are many books which do not adequately represent the character and thought of their writers. However, from time to time we come upon books which we can accept as reliable and trustworthy representatives of the mind of the man who wrote them. The twenty-one volumes which comprise the published writings of the late Bishop Charles Henry Brent belong to this latter class and as such they are "the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."

The Bishop looked upon his every published work as a new-born spiritual child. The pride a father takes in the son who creditably bears his name indicates the measure and quality of satisfaction the Bishop derived from every book published over his name. Into his books he poured his best thought and effort. His books were not carelessly or hurriedly written, rather they were the products of hours of painstaking labor. He worked over each manuscript until he was assured that it represented him correctly and what he wanted to say. What leisure hours he could command, on shipboard or in the mountains of the Philippines, he spent in writing or in refurbishing work already begun. His books represent—according to one who should know, the late Rev. Dr. Remsen B. Ogilby of Trinity College, Hartford, his intimate friend and official biographer—the very heart of the man.

Doctor Ogilby in conversation with the author of this article on May 7, 1936, told how upon the completion of the manuscript of one of his books, Bishop Brent in an elated mood summoned together his entire household, led them into his private chapel, and in their presence placed the pile of manuscript on the altar in an act of dedication to God of this product of his mind and spirit.

Considering the activity and fullness of his career as a missionary Bishop and statesman, Bishop Brent might be called a relatively prolific writer. Twenty-one full-sized books appear over his name, not to count a sizeable number of pamphlets, reports, and articles. The range of the Bishop's interests is reflected in the varied scope of his published writings through which we are enabled to obtain a well-rounded spiritual portrait of the man.

DEVOTIONAL WRITINGS

The first book in this category and the third book to come from his pen was *The Consolations of the Cross*, published in 1904 by Longmans, Green & Co., New York City, which firm, with a few exceptions, printed all his books.

This volume consists of addresses on "The Seven Last Words From the Cross" delivered in St. Stephen's Church, Boston, on Good Friday 1902 and also two sermons, one of which is a memorial upon the death of his co-worker and dear friend for ten years, Father Torbert, and the other his famous sermon on Stewardship delivered the last

Sunday of his rectorate in St. Stephen's parish.

With God in Prayer (1907) is a manual designed to foster the spirit of prayer and also to furnish aid in living the life of prayer. Many of Bishop Brent's own prayers appear in its pages, through all of which we are enabled to capture an inward glimpse into the religious heart of this great leader of Christian men. This small and chubby volume, one of the Bishop's most popular books, is pregnant with the pithy sentences that were sprinkled through all the Bishop's writings and recur time and again to a reader's mind as fruitful seed-thoughts.

The Conquest of Trouble and the Peace of God appeared in 1916. It is illustrative of one of the exercises the Bishop used for devotional self-enrichment. This book consists of every reference to "trouble" in the Psalter, with comment. A similar procedure is followed with the word "peace" as it is found in the New Testament.

Adventures in Prayer (1932) is a posthumous anthology of the Bishop's prayers with a few devotional excerpts from his writings arranged and edited by the late Rev. Dr. Samuel S. Drury, rector of St. Paul's School, Concord.

Though we are discussing the Bishop's published works, it would be a disservice to him not to mention the treasure of notebooks, diaries and personal journals which constitute the richest and most valuable of his literary remains. These notebooks, of varying sizes, are the source for all future inquiry into a more complete understanding of Bishop Brent's mind and thought, but even more so of his personal religious and devotional life and world.

We have been told that Bishop Brent

always carried a notebook with him. In it he would jot down his wayward thought or fleeting prayer. In these notebooks he penned his prayers (he commonly prayed with pen in hand), and in some of these notebooks we find the sermons he preached, carefully written out in longhand. The sermons were written only on the right-hand page, the opposite page being left for corrections and insertions. We simply wish to call attention to this literary and devotional treasure, a mine of spiritual wealth as yet untouched and unrevealed to the public eye.

BIOGRAPHY

Two books fall under this heading, one a full-sized biography and the other a biographical memoir.

Bishop Brent evidently took great interest in preparing for publication the one real biography from his pen, *A Master Builder, Life and Letters of Henry Yates Satterlee* (1916), though he frankly indicates in its preface that the writing of this volume was in the nature of a labor of love.

The preface is valuable for what it tells us of the Bishop's notion of biographical writing: "A biography is a word portrait—more a painting than a photograph." In the same place he writes: "The biographer does with words what the painter does with colors." He also expressed his interest in biography and his desire to write more in this field. However, with the exception of a small, tenderly-phrased memoir, the last book he wrote, he left no other biography than this slightly pedestrian account of the first Bishop of Washington.

The memoir we have mentioned, *A Victor, Nathaniel Bowditch Potter*, was

written early in the year 1929 while the Bishop was staying at the American Embassy in London. In this testimonial, written in memory of a dear departed friend whose real memorial is the Potter Metabolic Clinic in Santa Barbara, the Bishop wrote: "It was something of a habit of his to find responsibility wherever there was human life" (p. 12). What he wrote of another could be applied with equal accuracy to himself! Of Doctor Potter he said, "He interwove his sufferings with his genius until they became part of it." Did not Bishop Brent do exactly the same?

The volume entitled, *The Inspiration of Responsibility and Other Papers* (1915), contains papers on McKinley, Alexander Hamilton, and Abraham Lincoln, biographical sketches of men of whom, we venture to believe, the Bishop would probably have enjoyed writing full biographies.

ESSAYS

Two titles come under this classification: *The Sixth Sense, Its Cultivation and Use* (1911) and *Presence* (1914). Both are highly philosophical and abstract essays. Their presence in the catalogue of Bishop Brent's writings eloquently attests the amazing scope of his mental, intellectual, and spiritual range and power. Both of these essays are works which would honor the reputation of any professional scholar, yet they were composed by a missionary bishop during busy days in the tropics in the tense years before World War I.

Briefly described, the volume on "the sixth sense" is a treatise on faith. Faith is the sixth sense—the mystic sense. The Bishop's conception of faith

as insight—inward sight—is elaborated in the pages of this work.

Presence, which is dedicated to "Those whose perpetual presence is my perpetual joy, my friends," is a slender volume in which the Bishop deals with the metaphysic of presence. To those separated by space or death this book is a fountain of inspiration, insight, and comfort.

CHRISTIAN UNITY

Under this caption we group the pamphlet, written by the Bishop and published by the Committee for the First World Conference on Faith and Order, entitled "The Christian Way Toward Unity" (1925), the volume entitled "*Faith and Order*" (1927) which contains his opening address to the Lausanne Conference, and *Understanding* (1925), an interpretation of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work held at Stockholm in August, 1925, and in which Bishop Brent figured conspicuously.

SERMONS, ADDRESSES, ARTICLES

With God in the World (1899) was Bishop Brent's first work to appear in print. A collection of sermons, addresses, and magazine articles, it is the first of three similar volumes. *Liberty, and Other Sermons* (1906) and *Prisoners of Hope, and Other Sermons* (1915) are the other volumes in this trilogy, which provides us with a vivid picture of the Bishop's working philosophy of life, his salient ideas, his great hopes and deep dreams.

All of these volumes contain sermons delivered in such widely different places and circumstances as cathedrals in Shanghai, Manila, and Canterbury, col-

lege chapels and young people's conferences, labor conventions and clergy retreats. None of the sermons here published are the *ipsissima verba* but as they were later revised for publication.

The Splendor of the Human Body (1904) is a small volume comprising six addresses on the marvel, the dignity, the sanctity, the care and use of the human body; these were a series of talks delivered to the student body of the Groton School in 1904.

The Revelation of Discovery (1915) consists of a series of papers expounding the Apostles' Creed which originally appeared in *The St. Andrew's Cross* magazine. This volume approaches *The Mount of Vision* in being a straight book of theology.

The Inspiration of Responsibility and other Papers again consists largely of articles that first appeared in such publications as *The Churchman* (of which the Bishop was an editor from 1897-1901) and *The St. Andrew's Cross*. Some of the papers in this book are essays akin to those in *The Sixth Sense* and *Presence*. They all demonstrate how entirely at home the Bishop was in dealing with abstract themes, making them vibrantly real and alive and interesting.

LECTURES

We now come to the four volumes which represent Bishop Brent at the peak and crest of his mature thought and at the highest point of his vision, writing words of sheer prophecy and speaking messages that come rarely, and then only from the lips of a seer of great visions.

Adventure for God (1905) is a series of lectures delivered at the General Theological Seminary in 1904. In these lectures the Bishop enunciated prin-

ciples of missionary policy which today are commonplace, but which in 1904—40 years ago—were heralds of a new age in evangelistic endeavor. This is a splendidly inspiring volume and in it, as in all of these four books, we find the Bishop writing in his best literary style and with maximum effectiveness.

Himself a foremost leader of men during his own lifetime, a lifelong friend of world-leaders in Church and State, it is not surprising that Bishop Brent should have much to say on the subject of leadership, and that perhaps his finest literary production and probably his most powerful series of addresses should be the famous lectures on *Leadership* delivered before the faculty and students of Harvard University as the William Belden Noble Lectures in 1907. The volume which contains these inspiring lectures was published in 1908.

The Bishop of London's Lenten Book for 1918, *The Mount of Vision*, was published that year and was written during that year and during 1917 in the heat of war. The object, as stated in the introduction, is to outline God's plan for His creation and to capture "visions that will disclose our duty" and be for us "instruments of emancipation into a higher order and a better world." The book resolves itself into a manual of theology. It is not easy or light reading, in our opinion, for even an instructed, intelligent layman; but it is a magnificent work, aglow with the depth and texture of the Bishop's strong Christian faith, helpful and encouraging in the persuasiveness with which it presents the grandeur and scope of God's plan for the universe and for man, and presented in words that are the warmest and quickest from the heart of any of his that I have read. With the whole world shak-

ing and crashing about him, and writing as if he were literally on "a mount of vision," the Bishop framed this monumental testament of his and the Christian's faith. The book itself would be a master achievement were it composed in a time of meditative and studious leisure, but, being written during months when such towering faith might well seem fatuous and vain, it stands forth as a feat, an accomplishment that only a prophet and one schooled in faith and vision could perform.

The Commonwealth, Its Foundations and Pillars, published in 1930, a posthumous volume of his Duff Lectures delivered in 1921 at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, has been hailed as one of Bishop Brent's finest productions, if not his greatest work.

This volume sets forth the Bishop's great final vision of a world united within itself and to God. The book may rightly be considered as a final statement of his mighty and awesome vision of a true commonwealth of men on earth, for he delayed its publication for many years, spending much time in revising it as his definitive statement on a subject all-important to him.

Always a strong writer, Bishop Brent was concise and pungent. There are few unnecessary words. He always whittled down to the core of the matter he was treating, and then not uncommonly he broke forth into aphorisms and an almost poetical prose. He once advised some students at the General Theological Seminary to melt their theology into poetry. This is exactly what he did himself. His faith and vision would

carry him into poetry and suddenly the reader awakens to find himself clutching a chiseled fragment, pregnant with thought, fragrant with beauty, rich with a vast world of spiritual meaning. Trim, lucid, strong, clean, often beautiful, and at times almost poetical—such is the prose of Bishop Brent.

De la Bruyère once wrote a sentence which is appropriate here: "When a book raises your spirit, and inspires you with noble and courageous feelings, seek for no other rule to judge the work by; it is good, and made by a good workman."

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

- With God in the World.* 1899.
- The Splendor of the Human Body.* 1904.
- The Consolations of the Cross.* 1904.
- Adventure for God.* 1905.
- Liberty, and Other Sermons.* 1906.
- With God in Prayer.* 1907.
- The Mind of Christ Jesus in the Church of the Living God.* 1908.
- Leadership.* 1908.
- The Sixth Sense, Its Cultivation and Use.* 1911.
- Presence.* 1914.
- Prisoners of Hope, and Other Sermons.* 1915.
- The Inspiration of Responsibility, and Other Papers.* 1915.
- The Revelation of Discovery.* 1915.
- The Conquest of Trouble and the Peace of God.* 1916.
- A Master Builder, Life and Letters of Henry Yates Satterlee.* 1916.
- The Mount of Vision.* 1918.
- The Christian Way Toward Unity.* 1925.
- Understanding.* 1925.
- A Victor, Nathaniel Bowditch Potter.* 1930.
- The Commonwealth, Its Foundations and Pillars.* 1930.
- Adventures in Prayer. Arranged and Edited by S. S. Drury.* 1932.

Church Congress Syllabus No. 8

THE ANGLICAN TRADITION

PART VI

THE TRADITION AND THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH

By CHARLES W. F. SMITH

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The place of the Bible in the Anglican Tradition has received constant attention in this Syllabus. It is my purpose to examine the attitude of the Church in this matter with particular reference to new views of the Bible. Then, by use of a particular example, to lead up again to that destiny and mission of the Church referred to by Dr. Lowry in the very last words of his paper (Part III, January 1944).

The urgent need of our immediate future is an understanding of the nature and purpose of the Church. In this discussion the Anglican Communion must hold that central place for which it is well, indeed best, equipped but in the course of which it may, if it fails in courage and insight, find itself left behind. Its strength and its danger lurk to a large extent in its attitude towards Scripture, which is the core of the tradition, as set forth in its formularies.

The intelligent and discerning layman meets the Scriptures of course primarily in the form in which they appear and the mode in which they are used in the liturgical worship and practice of the Church. By this use and practice the sense in which the Church understands Scripture is to be chiefly discovered. He will, on consideration, find for in-

stance that in the major services the reading of the Bible (in the form of Psalms, Lessons, Epistles and Gospels) is invariably followed by the liturgical repetition of the Creed. If he turns to Article VIII he will find that the Creeds, the Apostles' and the Nicene, "ought thoroughly to be received and believed." Their place immediately after Scripture is illuminated by the concluding words of the Article, "for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."

Here then is something which is to be completely accepted, though not itself a part of Scripture but more strictly speaking a part of the Church's tradition. It is recommended to us on the grounds that, while the Bible does not explicitly set forth the faith in credal form, yet the faith expressed in the Creeds arises out of Scripture.

In this immediate connection the modern study of "the formation of the Gospel tradition"¹ is helpful. From this discipline it becomes apparent that what the Gospels set forth in terms of the life of our Lord is the faith of the Primitive Church as it centers around

¹ I prefer Vincent Taylor's phrase as more helpful than "Form-Criticism."

"the mighty acts" of God in Christ for our redemption. The speeches or sermons in the early chapters of the Acts of the Apostles yield a fairly consistent body of central assertions which characterize the early mission of the Church. Compared with the central paragraph of the Apostles' Creed the parallel is instructive and there is full correspondence except for the omission in the Apostolic Preaching of any reference to "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." The Nicene Creed exhibits a fuller treatment of the Incarnation and of course the Scriptural basis for it is clearly to be found in the New Testament when we go beyond the early chapters of Acts.

The Gospels themselves (and necessarily the rest of the New Testament) and the historic creeds go back to a common source in the experience of the primitive Church which felt the impact of the new and redeeming revelation of God in Christ. Therefore it would seem to be an unguarded statement which would assert that the Church gave us the Bible (unless "the Church" be used in the wider sense in which I use it below) but most certainly true that the new activity of God embodied in the mighty acts of our Lord's life, death, resurrection and glorification gave us alike the Church, the New Testament record of its initial life, and the Creeds which set forth the faith by which it lives.

Let us return to the layman observing the function of Scripture in the liturgical practice of the Church. He might next observe (with some surprise) that the only regular place appointed for sermons is in the Holy Communion and there precisely following upon the Creed which, in turn, follows the reading of

Scripture.² (Discussion of this fact should be the starting point for all courses on Homiletics in the Church.) The initial implication at least is clear, that exhortation or instruction of the people should arise out of, be based on, and deal with the Church's faith as set forth in the Creed and resting back upon God's Word Written.

Further evidence that this is more than implication becomes clear from a reading of the Ordinal. There the minister must subscribe to an instrument which requires him to teach nothing as necessary to salvation except what is to be found in Scripture or based thereon. In the public examination, both Priests and Bishops are required to undertake to be guardians of the faith upon this basis.

The complete affirmation of this position is found in Article VI, where it is to be noted that the rule of the sufficiency of Scripture applies to what is "to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation," and not to ceremonies and traditions which may vary—provided (article XXXIV) "nothing be ordained against God's Word" and provided, of course, that institutions without the warrant of Scripture are not imposed as necessary to salvation. In this requirement there is no demand that the essential doctrine be found written in the Bible in so many words (the Trinity is the famous example) but only that, where it is not found so written in Scripture, it "may be proved thereby."

Given this background it yet remains to ask in what sense the Scriptures are

² In earlier times the sermon or instruction followed immediately after the Scriptures; see, e.g., Justin Martyr.

to be understood or interpreted. Nowhere does the Anglican Church assume that the uninstructed individual simply by reading the words of the Bible can alone arrive at the faith or set forth doctrine, even though he be ordained. In the Anglican Communion the interpretation has traditionally rested back on the norm of the consensus of teaching in the early centuries. Yet in using this normative period the Church—as is frequently asserted in the Articles³—stands always under the criticism of Holy Writ. The Church is “a witness and a keeper of holy Writ” (Article XX) and the authority of the Church and of General Councils is an authority subject to the demonstration that what is determined thereby is consonant with the teaching of Scripture.

Precisely here arises a problem for today. The Reformers and Anglican Fathers wrought the Articles with an eye to the controversies of their times, opposing the corruptions of the medieval Church on the one hand and the Puritans and other extremists on the other. What they laid down is still an invaluable safeguard against similar extremes in modern form and an essential part of the *via media*, preserved and available to us in the liturgical form in which we most commonly meet it. Yet the Reformers obviously treated the Bible as a fairly simple book and could have no knowledge of the massive and enlightening development of modern biblical scholarship. In what sense then can the Anglican Communion of today remain loyal to its basic position and yet honestly and courageously admit the consensus of the results of modern

scholarship—a consensus of which it is now, by and large, possible to speak?

We have become sensitive to the dangers of “Bibliolatry” or of a naive “Biblicism” which might arise from an uncritical following of the Scriptures as the rule of faith and practice—a danger quite evident among us in the resort to the “proof-text” revealed even by contemporary writing and discussion. A revival of the study of the theology of the Bible is to be expected but not, we hope of an uncritical Biblicism.

It was laid down by Article VII, for example, that the Old and the New Testaments agree in offering us everlasting life by Christ. It is possible to understand this in the sense of St. Augustine’s words, “Before the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, who appeared lowly in the flesh, just men had preceded; believing in Him as about to come, as we believe in Him as having come. . . . We see both enter by the one gate of faith, that is, by Christ.”⁴ In the words of Article XVIII, “Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.” It is obviously in this sense of a central normative moment within the Scriptures themselves which we are to read that the Church may not “so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another” (Article XX). Some leave is given here in that, while we of necessity must *read* one portion of the Bible as clearly repugnant to another, the lower must be *expounded* in the light of the more elevated, the lesser understood in relation to the greater. We can accept it as a progressive revelation. There is nothing inconsistent, let us say, in expounding the

³ Articles VI to VIII, XVII to XXII, XXIV, XXVIII, XXXIV.

⁴ Quoted in Forbes, *An Explanation of the Thirty-Nine Articles*.

records of the conquest of Canaan or the Deuteronomic Law as lowly stages in the account of the historic process which fitted a people to be the folk of the Redeemer. We are not required to expound the imprecatory Psalms and the Sermon on the Mount on one level. Indeed the very opposite may be justified by the Articles. The latter may serve as a warning against the neglect of this modern knowledge and of the tools of Biblical criticism and advise us always to interpret Scripture of Old or New Testament in a manner not repugnant to the highest norm of revelation found in the Gospels.⁵

"The source and norm of all Christian theology," says Emil Brunner, "is the Bible . . . The more formal a theological concept is, the less it can be directly discovered in or directly validated by the Bible itself."⁶

The apparent contradiction in these words is well illustrated by a discussion of the origins of the Church and affords an example of what has been said above. We seek support for a theory of the founding of the Church in the Gospels. The all-too-obvious method would be to search out the word Church (*ecclesia*) in the Evangelists and reinforce one's doctrine with the passages in which the word occurs.⁷ Clearly such a search

leads to no satisfaction and yields no certain results. The word occurs but seldom and then in passages which, *because* the word there occurs, require an initial critical examination. An uncritical search is simply an example of a no longer valid "Biblicism."

In very loyalty to the Anglican tradition it is necessary rather, if one seeks Jesus' thought concerning the Church, to go back into His times and seek the general impression of His whole course of teaching and action. The *Sitz im Leben*, the life-situation, must be sought for even though it cannot always with certainty be recovered. We are limited here very often by the knowledge that the *Gospels* themselves are the product of the early Church, though the *Gospel* is the source of both. In this particular case, however, that is rather an asset than a liability—for I believe it can be demonstrated that the Church's early view of itself was that of Jesus Himself and hence the two are difficult to separate. Were we looking for the *ipsisima verba* of Jesus, the hand of the early Church would confuse us. The Church itself, however, could be expected to bring to the fore in the Gospels whatever was of importance for its own life.

To abandon the search for proof-texts is to discover that the early Church did not exist as a separate entity, as a new foundation sufficient unto itself, until the implications of Jesus' work could be wrought out in the gradual experience of its stupendous power and Pentecost had borne its fruit. The Christian Community existed first as a church within a church, a group of Jewish

and from the places there which mention it, to conclude what is the nature of it."

⁵ "Thus while rejecting the view that all parts of the Bible stand on one spiritual level, we also repudiate any effort to concentrate all attention on the directly edifying passages." *Doctrine in the Church of England*.

⁶ *The Divine Human Encounter*, Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1943.

⁷ As, e.g., the quotation from Pearson in *More and Cross' Anglicanism*, p. 24, proposes. "I observe that the only way to attain unto the knowledge of the true notion of the Church, is to search into the New Testament,

Churchmen who followed a certain way. It was necessary to wait until the acids of the Judaistic controversy has eaten into the situation for the Christians to become self-conscious as a distinct and completely autonomous Church.

We tend, perhaps, to underestimate the impact of this controversy. As late as the writing of the Fourth Gospel the traces of conflict with Judaism are clear and the work of justifying the new development goes on. For example, it is here that Jesus is represented as saying, "I am the *true* Vine." To anyone with a knowledge of Jewish symbolism this could be nothing less than the most emphatic claim that Jesus, Himself, was the true (*hē alēthinē*) Israel—and all those in vital union with Him branches of the Vine—for the Vine had always been a central symbol for Israel (Isa. 5:7; Ps. 80:8; Jer. 2:21, etc.). Moreover, an examination of the Gospel parables in particular and of much else in Jesus' teaching reveals how strongly ran the tendency to preserve material which had *actually* to do with the self-existence of the Church in spite of the paucity of material which has *apparently* to do with the Ecclesia.

We do not understand the situation until we see Israel itself no longer as a nation but as a church, or church-people. This, I am convinced, was Jesus' viewpoint. It runs back, of course, through the Suffering Servant material and the Remnant-idea to Isaiah, and beyond Isaiah in the concept of the Covenant-people, the chosen folk of God. To admit this is fruitful for an understanding of the apparent paucity of our Gospel material on the Church, for then, indeed, the whole Gospel material in a measure becomes material on the Church. The present understanding of the formation

of the Gospel tradition removes any surprise we might have over this state of affairs.

It seems clear to me that to read the Gospels from this point of view reveals Jesus' tremendous genius and "gives us seriously to think" about the Mission and Destiny of the Church. We are no longer surprised that Jesus dealt as little as He did with some of the burning social problems of our time and yet gave us the means by which we might deal with them. It also clears up a confusion which enters our discussions when we do not discriminate between what may be legislated for, or demanded of, the Church and what may be legislated for, or demanded of, the State or society-at-large.

We may summarise a complete examination to be undertaken elsewhere. To Israel as a Church, as the instrument of God for the redemptive revelation of Himself to the world, Jesus can say, "Ye are the salt of the earth." It is true of this Church, as of the members of this Church, that "he that seeketh to save his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it."

Of the Church, Jesus can demand that "your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees," and he can criticise legalism or the narrow application of the golden rule on the grounds, "What do ye more than others? . . . Do not even the Gentiles the same?"

But Jesus reveals His transcendent genius in that, while He appealed to Israel to assume its God-given function as a Church, He, knowing the appeal would be rejected, was already laying the foundation for a situation by which that refusal could be met. This we find in the choice of the Twelve, a choice

which has indeed to do with the Church but perhaps not quite in the sense in which it has sometimes been understood. That the early Church felt the impact of this strategy is clear from the tradition of the "completion of the Twelve" in the Matthias passage (Acts 1:22, 26).⁸ Can we fail to see here, in a group with the Twelve as its core, "the Remnant" of earlier thought? To this group, which survived Jesus' loss of popularity in Galilee, Jesus gave a mission and instructed them in the doctrine of the Suffering Son of Man. But once again, this particular teaching, and Jesus' implementation of it by His attack on Jerusalem and submission to the Cross, foresees and prepares for the very complete failure with the disciples, a failure which traces its tragic steps from the rebuke by Peter (Mark 8:32) to the betrayal of Judas. So that Jesus emerges as *Himself* the Israel of God's intention, Himself the saving Remnant and, in the issue, Himself the Church. The Church is thus not so much founded as reconstituted, given a new birth in the Resurrection and Pentecostal rallying to Him. It becomes, in truth, the new Israel with all the duties and responsibilities of the old, and with the danger of recapitulation of all its errors and failures. The old Israel is the instrument of God's Kingdom, and the New Israel is no more and no less. As S. A. Cook has put it, "Christianity arose, not as a people's choice of a new god, but as God's choice of a new people; it was not a new stage in an old

body, but a transformation into a new body with a new spirit."⁹

There is a curious and unnoticed recapitulation in this development which renders the apparent confusion of the Servant Songs of Second Isaiah more valuable than is generally admitted. Starting with ideas of corporate personality, but developing in the artistic enthusiasm (and irrationality) of true prophecy, that unknown author represented the Servant first as Israel, who shall be "a light to the Gentiles," then as an apparent "ideal" or "inner" Israel (Isa. 49:5), and finally as the individual of the climactic poem (Isa. 52:13-53:12). It is entirely possible that Jesus saw in this not only the clue to His own sufferings but also to His whole work and experience with the Church of His day. "The Christian Body," says S. A. Cook, "the 'Body of Christ,' is a conception that could have risen only in Israel."

The problems of order and organization this brief examination does nothing to answer and it is to be questioned whether passages of the Gospels or even of the whole New Testament can be claimed as evidence for any cut-and-dried system. That Jesus left what might be called a "nuclear" basis for organization cannot be gainsaid, but the interesting fact is that something much more than organization was needed to give a new impetus. The Christian Church arose from loyalty to a person and consisted in a personal relationship, manifested itself in a personal witness and created an organization on a personal basis in a growing community defined and "controlled" by Historic Fact. When Jesus was no longer pres-

⁸ The preservation of a tradition of "twelve," in spite of the critical doubts raised by the lists of names etc., is in itself of great interest and can arise only out of the Israel-idea.

⁹ *The "Truth" of the Bible*, p. 322.

ent in the flesh the disciples tended immediately to disperse (cf. the story of Emmaus and the "I go a-fishing" passage) until Jesus was again "in their midst" and a new connection with tradition could be established which assured them that the Covenant and the Covenant-Community was intact. (In this discussion the Emmaus chapter, Stephen's defence, Philip's interview with the Ethiopian, etc., are important.) The importance of links which went back beyond Jesus, and to which Jesus could be intelligibly (to a Jew) related, must not be overlooked. Peter felt the need of this (Acts 1: 15ff.), the Emmaus disciples needed it, Paul needed it, the writers of the Gospels demonstrably were seeking for it.

In Jesus' teaching as we have it in the Gospels, much attention is given to this Israel-Church situation, though it is not, as it seems to me, sufficiently noticed. Parables like the Elder Brother of the Prodigal, the Tenants of the Vineyard, the Great Feast, the Laborers and the Vineyardist, and the Son who said He Would Go but Did Not, at least seem to bear this meaning. Much of the controversy with the Jews in the Fourth Gospel testifies to the persistence of the interest.

In all this we cannot escape the necessary connection with the teaching concerning the Kingdom of God—of which it is all a part. It is no longer possible to be satisfied with a somewhat off-hand and uncritical confusion of the Church with the Kingdom. In Jesus' teaching it was the failure of the Jewish Church to receive the Kingdom of God and the Messiah which spelled its doom. The newly-constituted Israel, the Church, is instrumental to God's Kingdom and is bidden to pray, "Thy Kingdom come."

Even the so-called mystical Church, "the Body of Christ," must as I have suggested elsewhere¹⁰ be understood as the means by which the Kingdom of God is progressively revealed and accepted and released into effectiveness among us. The hymn which blithely puts the two in apposition, thus,

I love Thy Kingdom, Lord,
The House of Thine abode,
The Church our dear Redeemer saved
With His own precious blood

—this hymn needs to be re-examined.

The Church, then, stands always under judgment. To this realization many of the prayers in the Prayer Book give witness. It stands under judgment in that it exists by eschatological grace. It is the instrument of God's purpose and to its central vocation all else must be subordinate. Recapitulation of the older Israel's experience by the new Israel is tragically possible. That experience took the form of a tension between universalism and particularism which, because it could not be resolved, led to catastrophe. Yet, so invincible is God's purpose, out of that disruption a new and more effective instrument was forged. The earlier Israel was at first more keenly aware than later that it existed by God's grace alone. The Church must preserve that consciousness and a sense of mission lest the same unresolved tension prove its undoing.

So to read the situation is not to imply that God's purposes can fail or the instrument He has forged prove useless. It stands as a warning, to drive us back again to the eternal resources of our faith. The immediate future holds no promise of peace for Christians. The

¹⁰ *Anglican Evangelicalism*, ed. by A. C. Zabriskie, ch. on "The Body of Christ."

crucible into which the Church will be plunged must melt away all that is secondary and refine the gold of our essential Christianity. We must let the Bible teach us anew what is the real nature of our orders and liturgy, our sacraments and creed. Some serious soul-searching will be required of us as well as of others, and the Sword of the Spirit is still "quick and powerful, . . . a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." In the words of Dr. Visser 't Hooft, "This common appeal to the New Testament, however, represents at the same time the dynamic element in the discussion among the churches. For, in so far as the churches not only use the New Testament to prove their particular claims, but are willing to reconsider their doctrines in the light of their understanding of that document, biblical exegesis becomes a main element in the ecumenical situation."¹¹ The Anglican Church holds a position of terrifying responsibility. What can save us is the sense that the Anglican "synthesis" is the gift of God's grace alone, and that we are *intended* to become "a great missionary Church" (Lowry) or we lose all right to the name of Church.

In conclusion, I want to suggest three points arising out of what has been said above.

1. Holy Scripture, of which the Church is Keeper and to which it is Witness, puts the Church under judgment to the Kingdom of God. This judgment is the determination whether the Church is fulfilling its purpose and achieving its destiny. That the Anglican Communion has excluded itself from setting forth anything as necessary for salvation ex-

¹¹ *The Church and its Function in Society*, p. 12.

cept what may be based on Scripture (interpreted according to its inner norm) ought to give us a sense of proportion. It should enable us always to put essential things first and to hold secondary or non-essential things in such a way that the primary task of the Church is not inhibited thereby. This should be the guiding principle of Anglican missionary work and ecclesiastical statesmanship alike.

2. But Scripture is not alone a criticism or a safeguard. It is also an abundant source of life. The Bible is open to our understanding as never before in our era and this is one sign that perhaps the greatest days of Christianity lie ahead. The Anglican Communion, because of the place it gives to Scripture and because it is not ill-equipped with Biblical scholars, is well fitted to lead into the greatness of a new age. Revival has always come from a return to Biblical faith. We believe we have maintained, purified by Scriptural reference, the continuity of the life of the Church Catholic free of the attenuations of an unguarded Biblicism.

To return to the Bible and, with new insight, discover how truly central a theme the Church of God is to all that literature will mean access of life. The inevitable self-criticism involved may be thought of as pruning, a process essential for the bearing of richer fruit. So we are brought back again to the theme of the Vine in John 15. It is *in Christ* that the Church finds its greatest reality. We are brought again and again into the immediate presence of Him who is not only to be thought of as Head, and Spouse, and Lord of the Church but, when we discover ourselves in Him, Himself the Church in its exalted power.

3. This brings us to the Sacraments.

Many Anglicans are increasingly aware of a twofold weakness in our practice. First, to an age religiously illiterate, the two Gospel Sacraments no longer speak for themselves. In their dramatic centrality to the Redemptive Action of God, they should be the most effective missionary instruments of the Church. But they are not clearly this today. Secondly, that the preaching of the Word with neglect of the Sacraments is an unfulfilled task and accounts often for the "abstraction" of much preaching and for poor training in the spiritual life on the part of those who attend church primarily to hear sermons.

Is it not necessary to remind ourselves of the close connection maintained in the Prayer Book between Word and Sacraments¹² and that we are discovering the danger of weakening both when they are divorced? Is not a return to the Prayer Book intention of Bible-centered preaching or instruction at the Holy Communion indicated, and to restore in some manner the public nature of Baptism—by associating it with a service in which there is a sermon or by introducing the Sacrament with an exposition of its nature and purpose and of the real duties of godparents?¹³ The necessity of re-

storing the Holy Communion to the place where it is truly a congregational service has been ably emphasized in recent times.¹⁴ Our preaching and liturgy have become too much divorced, and the Bible neglected in each, though a brief study reveals how little is left of liturgy without Scripture and how unintelligible it would be without the context of the Word. For this task I am convinced the clergy of our Church must discipline themselves again in the reading for themselves the daily offices of the Church.¹⁵ Without a ministry daily in touch with the Scriptures, the Church loses its contact with the central resource of its genius and lays aside its most powerful weapon, "able to make thee wise unto salvation."

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What sort of preaching is indicated by the place of the sermon—following Creed and Scripture and introducing the Liturgy with its "eucharistic action"? What are the implications for preaching and teaching (e.g. Church School material) in the Anglican desire to interpret Scripture critically according to the highest "norm" within the Bible?

Baptism is supposed to, viz. after the Second Lesson, misses one essential point. Baptism precedes the Creed for the obvious reason that the new member of the Church is thought of as joining in that expression of unity. The sermon should follow the Creed for the reason suggested above. Compare the place of ordination—for Deacons before the Gospel, for Priests before the Creed.

¹⁴ E.g. by Hebert and by the so-called "Liturgical Movements."

¹⁵ "If a man will say his Psalms and read his lections through day by day for about two years, . . . their magnificent presentation of God's reality in the immense variety of His operations . . . will begin to grip his mind, to mould it in the habit of a constant faith." H. Kelly, *The Church and Religious Unity*, p. 305.

¹² E.g. the Sermon rubric at Holy Communion, the expectation that the Offices of instruction will be the connecting link between Holy Baptism and Confirmation, the close association of "Word and Sacraments" in the Bidding Prayer and that for the Whole State of Christ's Church, in the Ordination of Priests, and in Articles XIX and XXIII.

¹³ Father Palmer, S.S.J.E., of Bracebridge, Ont., has demonstrated to conferences at the College of Preachers how beautifully and effectively this can be done for simple and untutored people with each Sacrament. His method is of interspersed exposition. The recent suggestion of Dr. Hardy that the sermon at Morning Prayer should come where

2. What bearing has the foundation of the Church as "the new Israel" on our current life in the Episcopal Church—e.g. Jesus' teaching to Israel's hierarchy, nationalists (Zealots), purists (Pharisees) etc.—His defence of His mission to the outcasts, later used as a defence of the Church's mission to the Gentiles? Translate into terms of contemporary problems.

3. In what way can the Church's primary (missionary) function be realized in the Anglican Communion in terms of the post-war world? What can be done to put the people again into living touch with the Scriptures—in Sacraments, other Church activities and at home? How can the ministers and lay leaders of the Church best prepare themselves for this twofold task?

A NOTE ON MATTHEW 20: 15

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In our Lord's parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, which is found only in Matthew, the workers agreed with the owner of the property to work for a denarius a day. This was the usual wage for a labourer in Palestine both in the time of Christ and at a much later date.¹ Nothing was said about the number of hours the men were expected to remain in the vineyard. Some worked much longer than others, but at the end of the day each one received from the steward a denarius.²

¹ See 'Abodah Zara, fol. 62a; Baba Batra, foll. 86b and 87a; and Bereshith Rabbah, LXI, 7. It is said that Hillel, who was poor in his youth, worked for a tropaik a day, i.e., one-half of a denarius, in order to support his family and himself and to defray the cost of his education.

² Wycliffe was the first to use the word *penny* as a translation of denarius, and this rendering was retained in all the major English versions which followed. It is misleading to a modern reader, because a penny a day seems to be a ridiculously low wage. Dr. Moffatt uses *shilling*, and Professor Goodspeed employs *dollar* as a translation of denarius. Dr. Torrey, on the other hand, allows the original word *denarius* to stand in his version. However, in Wycliffe's time *penny* was an entirely satisfactory rendering of the word in question; for

There was naturally dissatisfaction and complaining, because it seemed to the labourers manifestly unjust that those who had gone to work late in the afternoon should get the same pay as those who had "borne the burden of the day and the burning heat" of the sun. Nevertheless, the owner of the vineyard reminded one of the complaining workers that he had agreed with the proprietor on the wage to be paid, and that therefore no wrong had been done. Then the owner of the property bade the man

before the Black Death, which made its appearance in England in the year 1348, the daily wage of an English agricultural labourer was a penny. The plague bore most heavily on the poor, and the wages of workingmen of all sorts naturally rose. When Wycliffe finished his translation of the New Testament, a farm labourer received slightly more than two pence per day; and in the year 1611, when the King James version was published, his daily wage had increased to nearly ten pence. See G. F. Steffen, *Studien zur Geschichte der englischen Lohnarbeiter* (Stuttgart, 1901), I, Tafel I, opp. p. 112. At the time of the Black Death a penny a day provided sufficient support for an agricultural worker's family of average size, and about 1380 two pence per day was considerably more than enough for that purpose. In James I's reign, however, a daily

to take what was his and depart; and, in explanation of his action, he added that it was his will to treat all alike, giving the latest comers the same pay as those who had toiled from early morning until evening. In order to justify himself, the proprietor of the vineyard asked the question which is usually translated thus: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own (*ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς*)?"

The words *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς* are found in all Greek manuscripts, and they are represented in some Old Latin codices and in all the Syriac translations as well as in the Sahidic and Bohairic versions. On the other hand they are omitted in five Old Latin codices and in the Vulgate.³ This omission, which may have been due originally to accident or

wage of nearly ten pence was very little above the subsistence level for such a family. See G. F. Steffen, *op. cit.*, I, Tafel II, opp. p. 112. The penny, which was introduced into England by King Offa of Mercia in the eighth century, was made of silver and was for a long time the principal coin of the realm. Offa's penny was modeled on the *novus denarius* of Pippin, and hence the letter d has always been the abbreviation for the English penny. Originally the penny weighed 22½ grains; but as time went on, it was repeatedly reduced in value. In the reign of Edward I its weight was decreased a little, and in the second half of the fourteenth century it contained 18 grains. The downward trend continued and in the time of James I there were only 7¾ grains of silver in a penny.

³ Viz. b ff² g¹ g² l. The phrase is omitted also in Codex Aureus. This is a Vulgate manuscript of the sixth or seventh century in Stockholm which contains an admixture of ante-Hieronymian readings. On the other hand at least eight and probably nine Old Latin codices attest the words in question. In some of them *ἐν* is understood in the local sense and is rendered by *in* (*d h q*), and in others it is interpreted instrumentally and represented by *de* (*a c f ff¹ n (†) r¹*). See A. Jülicher, *Italia* (Berlin, 1938), I, p. 142.

perhaps to the ambiguity of the prepositional phrase in Greek, has left its mark on two English translations;⁴ but there can be no doubt that the words *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς* are a genuine part of the Greek text of Matthew.

The prepositional phrase just mentioned is rendered as it is above, or substantially so, in all the major English versions which contain the words. Tyndale and Coverdale use the English phrase "with myne awne" and "with myne owne" respectively in translating *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς*; and the Great Bible and the Geneva New Testament supply a substantive in the prepositional phrase, having respectively "with myne awne goodes" and "with mine own goods." On the other hand Wycliffe's translation and the Roman Catholic New Testament published at Rheims in 1582, which are based on the Latin Vulgate, omit the words in question. The King James and Revised versions revert to the rendering of Tyndale and Coverdale, and in the recent translations of Professors Moffatt, Goodspeed, and Torrey *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς* is interpreted in the same way.⁵ Luther thought that the phrase had this meaning,⁶ but Erasmus and Beza rendered the Greek words literally in Latin.⁷ The two last-mentioned scholars must have understood *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς* to mean "in my affairs," i.e., in the sphere of my affairs; for neither Erasmus nor Beza would have used the Latin preposition *in* instrumentally.

⁴ Viz. Wycliffe's version and the Rheims New Testament.

⁵ Viz. "with what belongs to me" (Moffatt); "with what is mine" (Goodspeed); and "with my own property" (Torrey).

⁶ Viz. "mit dem Meinen."

⁷ Viz. "in rebus meis" (Erasmus) and "in meis rebus" (Beza).

It is interesting to glance at the principal ancient versions of the New Testament, in order to see how the early translators understood the words *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς*. Little light, however, is shed on the meaning of the phrase from this source; for all these translations, with the exception of the Sinaitic form of the Old Syriac and the Diatessaron of Tatian, either omit the words in question or are ambiguous in their rendering of them. In all the Old Latin manuscripts which contain the phrase the preposition *ἐν* is represented either by *in* or *de*; and, as we have seen, the phrase under discussion is omitted in the Vulgate. Apart from the exceptions noted above, the Syriac versions are usually interpreted as being in agreement with the rendering of Luther and the various English translators, i.e., it is assumed that *ἐν* was understood in the instrumental sense. However, in each case the preposition employed to represent *ἐν* is *b*, which means both *in* and *with*. Therefore these translations are really ambiguous in Matthew 20:15. Moreover, what is true of the Syriac versions in regard to the phrase in question is equally true of the Coptic translations, the Sahidic and the Bohairic, and for precisely the same reason. Both the Sahidic and the Bohairic rendering of the words *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς* may be interpreted to mean either "in what is mine" or "with what is mine." For the Sahidic preposition *hn* and the Bohairic preposition *khen* are used both locally and instrumentally. In other words, with the exception of the Sinaitic form of the Old Syriac and the Diatessaron of Tatian, all the Syriac versions and the two Coptic translations exhibit the same ambiguity that besets the Greek text.

We must now consider the meaning of the words *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς*. The preposition *ἐν*, like the corresponding words in Syriac and Coptic, may be either local or instrumental. Most modern commentators, like Luther and the various English translators, take it in the latter sense and explain the phrase under discussion as meaning "with what is mine." This interpretation is of course quite possible, and it may be right. However, this idea could have been expressed unambiguously by means of the proposition *διὰ* with the genitive.

But on the other hand *ἐν* may have the local sense. In this case the phrase will mean "in what is mine." The neuter plural of the definite article with a possessive pronoun is used not infrequently to denote the house or home of anyone.⁸ This meaning seems to the present writer to suit the context of Matthew 20:15 quite as well as that which is usually assigned to the words *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς*, and it is in accordance with Greek usage.

So far as the writer knows, no commentator, ancient or modern, has proposed this interpretation of the phrase *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς* in Matthew 20:15. Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Euthymius Zigabenus make no comment on these words; and Īshō'dādh of Merv, a Nestorian commentator of the ninth century, says

⁸ See Luke 2:49; Gen. 41:51; Esth. 7:8; and Job 18:19. See also Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 5.36, 2; where the author, in quoting John 14:2 from memory, writes *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου* for John's *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου*. For examples taken from classical and post-classical writers see J. J. Wetstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum* (Amsterdam, 1751-52), I, p. 668. The phrase *εἰς τὰ ἴδια* occurs four times in the New Testament (John 1:11; 16:32; 19:27; and Acts 21:6). For other illustrations see W. Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium* (third ed., Tübingen, 1933), pp. 20f. (in Lietzmann's *Handbook zum Neuen Testament*, 6).

nothing about them. However, in the Sinaitic form of the Old Syriac version the prepositional phrase *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς* is translated "in my house (*bbaiti*)"; and Tatian seems to have understood the words in the same way.⁹ Moreover, in a well-known modern Greek translation of the New Testament the phrase *ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς* is rendered *ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ*.¹⁰ It is clear

⁹ The text of the Diatessaron is preserved in part in the commentary of Ephraim Syrus, which is extant only in Armenian. In Dr. J. Armitage Robinson's English translation of the Armenian text the question asked by the proprietor of the vineyard is rendered thus: "Or have I not power in mine own house to do what I will?" See J. H. Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ* (Edinburgh, 1894), p. 361.

¹⁰ *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη* (London, British and Foreign Bible Society, 1925).

that the translator understood the preposition *ἐν* in the local sense; for if he had taken it as instrumental, he would not have used *ἐν* as a translation of it. He would have employed either *διὰ* or *μὲν*.

If the interpretation suggested above is accepted, the question asked by the owner of the vineyard may be translated thus: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I wish on my own premises, or on my own property?" The answer to this question was self-evident; for there could be no doubt in the speaker's mind that, with the exception of committing a crime or doing a personal injury to someone, he had an indisputable right to do anything he wished on his own estate.

"TWO SONS" IN ACTS 19: 14

By CHARLES C. TORREY

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In the *Bulletin of the Bezan Club*, No. XII (Leyden, December, 1937), pp. 77 f., there is a note by Professor Robert Eisler, entitled "The Sons of the Jewish High-Priest Scaeva in Ephesus (Acts 19: 14)."

Eisler's note is concerned partly with the name of the high priest and partly with the famous problem of the number of his sons. In the latter connection he mentions the ingenious suggestion of the late Professor A. C. Clark, that the strange number "seven" in verse 14 originated in the misinterpretation of a ξ in the Greek text. This, he conjectured, was naturally taken as the numeral sign for *seven*, whereas it was intended as the abbreviation for "query" ($\xi\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$, or $\xi\eta\tau\eta\mu\alpha$, $\xi\eta\tau\eta\tau\epsilon\omicron\nu$), since the sign

ξ is found in this sense in manuscripts and papyri. The query in this case would have related to the person of the "high priest" and the alleged fact of his presence at Ephesus.

Eisler comments, that the presence of the high priest at Ephesus is not definitely asserted here, since only *his sons* appear on the scene; and further, that if the $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$ in vs. 14 is really the false interpretation of a (supposedly) numeral sign, then the "query" might well refer to the number of the sons.

Some such way of accounting for the contradiction in number seems necessary, for it is hardly credible that the writer of the narrative before us could mention *seven* sons in vs. 14, and then, without any explanation, reduce the number to

two in vs. 16. There is an error of transmission here, antedating the oldest manuscript testimony. The various attempts made by MSS. and versions to get rid of the difficulty are familiar.

Several conclusions seem fairly certain at the outset. 1. The actual number of the sons was two, as the account in verse 16 seems to demand; not even a demon-possessed man could overpower seven men before they could get out of the house.

2. The number, "two sons," must certainly have been given in verse 14, *δύο* originally standing where *ἐπτά* is now read; otherwise, the writer of the narrative could have no excuse for using the word "both" in verse 16.

3. The error occurred before the genesis of the text represented by Codex Bezae, in which the troublesome numeral in vs. 14 is omitted, while "both of them" in vs. 16 is retained. This obviously cannot represent the original reading.

For more than one reason, Clark's solution of the difficulty is unsatisfactory. It supposes that *no* number was given in vs. 14, although the *ἀμφότερων* in vs. 16 clearly implies that two sons had already been mentioned. The fact must be kept in mind that the conjectured *ξ* stands in just the place which the numeral "two" would have occupied. If the "query" referred to the person of the high priest Scaeva, no scribe or editor would have inserted at this point the character which inevitably would have been interpreted as the numeral 7!

Nevertheless, the supposition of a mistaken sign of abbreviation seems the only plausible explanation of the difficulty, since mistakes of just this nature are numerous and familiar. The seat of the

present trouble is as definitely located as could be desired, and very many interpreters of the passage must have sought for some graphic solution. The quest of a numeral sign which could permit either interpretation, "two" or "seven," seems at the outset quite hopeless in any ordinary Greek script, cursive or uncial.

There are, however, no conventional forms of the numeral signs, any letter in current use will serve; and in this case palaeography supplies what is either the true solution or a remarkable coincidence. The table of cursive Greek alphabets in Maunde Thompson's *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* will suffice for illustration. In the first edition (the one which I happen to possess) the table faces page 148. The letter *zeta* is remarkably constant in form, not easily to be mistaken for any other letter, *except in the first century A.D.* The fact is much the same in the case of the letter *beta*.

I copy the characters after tracing them from the table just mentioned. One of the forms of the first-century *beta* is (fig. 1); a typical variation, for



FIG. 1.

closely analogous forms appear in other centuries. At the same time, *zeta* appears as (fig. 2); a form that could oc-



FIG. 2.

casion no surprise. The hook at the top of the letter *beta*—the feature that would cause it to be mistaken for *zeta*—is commonly absent or but slightly indicated in the papyri of the first century. Some-

times, however, it is even more conspicuous than the Maunde-Thompson table shows; see for example Wessely's publication of the Vienna papyrus No. 31, in the *Wiener Studien* for 1882; col. III, line 2, in the facsimile.

The ease with which the two char-

acters might be confused is very obvious; and inasmuch as the error of transcription must have occurred either in the first century or early in the second, there is here a very plausible explanation of a difficulty which seems to have no other reasonable solution.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Ladder of Progress in Palestine. By Chester Charlton McCown. New York: Harpers, 1943, pp. xvi + 387. \$3.50.

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vols. XXI-XXII, for 1941-43, comprising *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim*, Vol. III, The Iron Age, by William Foxwell Albright. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1943, pp. xxvi + 229 + 73 plates. \$4.00.

In *The Ladder of Progress in Palestine*, Professor McCown, of the Pacific School of Religion, and former director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, proposes "to give an intelligent but non-technical reader some appreciation of how the archaeologist works and what he discovers . . . so that the readers . . . will appreciate the difficulties and the limitations of archaeology as well as the values and successes that have been won." His method is immediately practical. He invites the reader to visit the "digs" of Palestine, but only after he has made it clear that following an expedition even by way of a book is not an easy picking up of glittering bits of the past as souvenirs. The first chapter outlines the scientific interest of the archaeologist in social evolution and the consequent importance in excavation of observing and registering the details of each stratum. It describes the administrative problems of permits, staff, labor, housing and health, equipment, records in duplicate and reports.

The correlation of material on prehistoric cultures derived from the valuable Palestinian sources, and its tabulation in Figure 2, are important contributions. With this gift of careful summarization, Professor McCown com-

bines a happy skill in story telling as illustrated in the accounts of the Ghassulian frescoes and the primitive house models.

In the preface the author recognizes an especial indebtedness to Professor W. F. Albright and dedicates his book to him. It seems appropriate, therefore, to consider as a companion piece for review Dr. Albright's publication of the results of the excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim. This combined volume of the *AASOR* completes the publication of the work of the four campaigns at this site, identified as Kirjath-Sepher or Debir. The systematic work of reporting is accomplished with meticulous care for detail and as thorough scholarship as the work of excavating the site. It is a distinguished example of the scientific method of archaeology described by Professor McCown. Valuable both to the student of archaeology and to the student of ceramics is the research of Professors J. L. Kelso and J. P. Thorley in ancient Palestinian pottery, based on their study of the Tell Beit Mirsim ware and including kiln tests. In addition to the five chapters of the report, the volume includes serial lists of objects found, a complete index to the three volumes on Tell Beit Mirsim, and excellent plates—plans of levels and sections, drawings and photographs. It is a notable technical publication by a specialist for specialists. In *The Ladder of Progress in Palestine*, Dr. McCown demonstrates the effectiveness of the specialist as an interpreter presenting just such scholarly source material in accurate and attractive digest form for his "intelligent . . . non-technical reader." In Chapter VII, he uses Tell Beit Mirsim with its unmistakable stratification to display "the history of southern Palestine like a panorama in a motion picture." By including the story

of Dr. Albright's workman who would turn cut-throat from lust for treasure, Professor McCown transforms the *tell* from a place of scattered shards into a village of peasants sweating under their jars of oil and measures of wheat to fill the ancient silos.

The "ladder" does not lack its upper rungs. There are chapters on "neglected Galilee," the synagogues and sepulchres of Judaism, Hellenistic market places, and Roman city-planners.

Here are sound scholarship and field experience; good writing; a sense of humanity and humor; suggestive bibliography; the visual aids of uncluttered maps and photographs, full of life and artistry. Professor McCown prefaces his writing with this appraisal: "Unusually successful excavations have distinguished Palestine during the past two decades." In Professor McCown, they have found an unusually successful broadcaster.

JEAN H. JOHNSON

Cambridge, Mass.

Form-Criticism of the Synoptic Healing Narratives: A Study in the Theories of Martin Dibelius and Rudolf Bultmann. By Laurence J. McGinley, S. J. Woodstock, Md.: Woodstock College Press, 1944, pp. viii + 165. \$2.75.

A learned Jesuit has emerged as author of the most thorough and carefully documented adverse criticism of Dibelius and Bultmann yet to appear in English. Father McGinley begins with a study of the underlying principles of form-criticism and proceeds from this to the chief narrative categories as set forth by the founders of the form-critical school. He then studies the forms of the synoptic healing narratives and those of the numerous rabbinic and Hellenistic parallels, contrasting the conclusions of Dibelius and Bultmann with his own results. The book ends with a study of the "Typical Healing Narrative."

Certainly Father McGinley has put his finger on nearly every weakness in the theories of the two great form critics, and much of his criticism seems quite unanswerable. (1) The gospels do not fit easily into the category of *Kleinliteratur*, but rather belong to a *genre* unique in literary history. (2) Whatever function a community may have in molding the form of a tradition, it does not create materials like the words of Jesus, with their "strong, original, revolutionary" character—as Easton

and others have pointed out, many years ago. (3) The form critics' devotion to definitely postulated forms is doctrinaire, and breaks down because no perfect forms can be discovered to serve as a norm. (4) Comparison of the details of miracle stories in Mark with those in Matthew and Luke actually militates against the form critics' theory, for on their premises the later gospels should be more primitive than Mark. (5) No real analogy to the development of the gospel tradition has been discovered in literary history; the only analogies are in details. (6) Bultmann and Dibelius do not agree in determining the relation of the *Sitz im Leben* to the form and they are not consistent in applying their own principles. In fact, their whole approach to the problem is *a priori* and based on unestablished assumptions. (7) The gospel tradition presumably developed in a very few years, whereas most traditional compilations adduced as parallels grew up during a much longer span of time. (8) Dibelius merely assumes that the paradigms were used in preaching, he does not prove it. (9) Both the critics are unnecessarily skeptical. Why should Bultmann assign to the primitive Palestinian community incidents which most naturally find their *Sitz im Leben* in the historical life of Jesus? (10) The miracle stories (Dibelius' *Novellen*) are not as secular in tone as Dibelius insists they are, and they are intended to do more than awaken trust in a thaumaturge; i.e. the faith of those who are healed apparently has something of a genuinely religious character. Jesus' healings are not involuntary, as Bultmann asserts. (11) To deny the historical character of a passage because of its supernatural content is to step outside the rôle of historian and assume that of philosopher. Certainly, as Hans Lietzmann once remarked, it is a well-attested fact that both Jesus and Vespasian "healed" people; to explain how this was done is another matter. (12) Similarities between the gospel miracle stories and those of rabbinic literature and the Hellenistic world, have been greatly exaggerated.—Most of the above criticisms have already been made by Fascher, Easton, Scott and others, but McGinley heaps them up in such a way that their cumulative effect is very great.

However, some of the author's other objections are more debatable. (1) It is not likely that the primitive community's influence on

the gospel tradition was merely in the selection of materials. If the stories actually passed from mouth to mouth for a generation, the Church's interests must have modified somewhat their form and coloration. (2) Father McGinley is quite as dogmatic as Bultmann in asserting "the authoritative guidance of the Twelve, especially St. Peter," and in saying, "How early this tradition was committed to writing, we do not know, but throughout there reigned a concept of its inviolability" (p. 8). There is some truth in this, but it must not be pushed too far. Even with the best will in the world, an oral tradition cannot be absolutely controlled. (3) It is objected that the fragment hypothesis is fallacious, for "such unanimity of presentation would be impossible in a collection of isolated units" (p. 10). But this hypothesis is demanded precisely because there are differences in presentation of Jesus' deeds, words and person throughout the gospel record; differences that exist, even though they should not be exaggerated. Furthermore, the evangelists, who (as McGinley says) are not mere compilers, help to restore a unity of presentation throughout their respective gospels. (4) I wonder if Father McGinley and the form critics are talking about precisely the same thing when they speak of "biographical interest." There is some biographical interest, in that the early Christians wish to know the facts about this Jesus in whom they believe; if Bultmann and Dibelius deny this categorically, they are mistaken. But it is not biographical interest in the modern sense such as one sees in Carl Sandburg's life of Lincoln or Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*, and it is always connected with faith in Jesus as lord and saviour. A number of other points might be mentioned, such as the assumption that the Q hypothesis is untenable.

This capable critique, which preserves always a tone of dignity and exhibits an honest attempt to be fair and objective, may serve to remind us that the study of form should be employed as a literary method, not an historical. Once the earliest recoverable form is found, there still remains the task of pronouncing historical judgments, and here all the usual historical methods, including the test of consistency, are appropriate. The most serious fault of Dibelius and Bultmann is that they are apparently confused at this point and

add to the confusion of their readers by their formidable and slippery terminology.

Father McGinley, like all the rest of us, does allow form-criticism some value if it is used as a tool and not a weapon, but he says little about what its merits are and how it may profitably be employed. Perhaps this is outside the scope of his book. Nevertheless, I feel it unfair for me to subscribe to the serious list of *gravamina* given above without adding a few words in favor of the general form critical approach. (1) It actually does help us to remove accretions, as for example in the parable of the Great Supper, where both Matthew and Luke contain irrelevant material. See B. T. D. Smith, *The Parables of the Synoptic Gospels*, for a sound and constructive use of the method. (2) It teaches us to scrutinize the gospels' editorial framework, which, if not totally worthless, is often artificial. The articles of C. C. McCown on gospel geography confirm this by an approach which is partly other than form critical. (3) Form-criticism gives us a clearer picture of Jesus' teaching and enables us to see the points at which he actually differs from the religious leaders of his time. (4) Finally, it furnishes us with information about the development of the first century Church. Mark's story of the strange exorcist, the additions to the parable of the Great Supper, the interpretation of the parable of the Sower, the woes on the Pharisees, especially the passage Matt. 23: 34-36 = Luke 20: 49-51, and many other parts of the gospels, all help us to observe a living community of faith.

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON

Episcopal Theological School

The Problem of Ezekiel. By William A. Irwin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943, pp. xx + 344. \$3.00, paper.

Dissatisfaction has increased of late years with Kittel's dictum that Ezekiel was a man with two souls in his breast, and with Cooke's, that "The prophet kept before him an ideal audience for whom his words and acts were intended, as well as a real audience who heard and saw them. . . ." Was Ezekiel so abnormal, is this book with so many diverse elements a unit, where was it written? Is it, as Torrey holds, a pseudonymous work of the third century, and what lies behind the tradi-

tion that "the men of the great synagogue wrote Ezekiel"?

Even conservative critics are now conceding the presence of secondary matter in what was once regarded as the product of one hand. So Pfeiffer: "Without doubt in Jeremiah and perhaps in Ezekiel, some of the most dreary and repetitious prose sections were penned by a secretary or later redactors," and Cooke: "Make large allowance . . . for well meaning attempts of scribes to explain and annotate." The eschatological chapters 38f. clearly fit the third century much better than the sixth. Legalism, individualism, and eclecticism in Ezekiel also cause doubt in the contemporary critical mind as to its unity.

Irwin's position is that the book is the work of many writers from the sixth to the first century B.C., e.g. 19:2-9 comes from about 135 B.C. "The Book of Ezekiel was receiving notable accretions right to the dawn of the present era, if not still later." Ezekiel of the sixth century wrote in Palestine, and was deported to Babylonia only in 586, not 597. "Torrey's effort to make the book a pseudograph simply will not do." Of Chapters 40-48, "There is nothing whatever in these nine chapters that reveals even slight relationship with the genuine work of Ezekiel," so that there is no reason to believe that Ezekiel was a priest. Of Chapters 1-39 Ezekiel wrote about one fourth, or 251 verses in whole or in part out of 1273 in the entire book. "Only Chapters 9, 10, 19, and 39 are completely spurious." Elsewhere editors or "commentators" have elaborated upon Ezekiel's 53 genuine oracles. In Chapter 18, for example, Irwin retains vss. 1-4 only, and "The great doctrine of individualism, for which Ezekiel has been famous, is his only in embryo."

The radicalism of a result such as this, says Irwin, is "a matter of complete indifference." "Its credibility is to be assessed . . . only by the adequacy of the criteria employed and the soundness of the method followed." "We must discover reliable criteria that will enable us to distinguish with some reasonable approximation to finality between Ezekiel's own utterances and those of his disciples and followers." That they exist "is my firm conviction."

Hopefully, therefore, the reader looks for perhaps hitherto undiscovered and at any rate decisive criteria. But what are they? A genu-

ine passage may be indicated "by the existence of false commentary" upon it. It will be introduced typically by a formula such as "And the word of the Lord came to me saying," which in Irwin's opinion is "unquestionably Ezekiel's own introduction to his utterances." It will be free of the introductory sequence, "because . . . therefore," which in turn is a sign of the commentaries, as are also the words "spirit," "hand of the Lord," and "you (or they) shall know that I am the Lord." It will be written in the first person, not the third. It will be poetry, not prose (although there is also poetry in the book which is not Ezekiel's). It will be characterized by a crisp and allusive style, light in touch. Frequently it will be in the form of a parable.

Irwin promises much, but in the end many of the criteria turn out to be similar to those employed in earlier investigations and some matters of impression highly unreliable. The case for the genuineness of the introductory formulas is lamentably weak. Ezekiel's "love of tristichs" is far from having been proved objectively. Says Irwin, "No critic has evolved a sound criterion for identifying genuine material; hence all alike are but guessing." Is he throwing stones from the roof of a glass house?

In many of his conclusions Irwin could be right. The other prophetic books are composite—why except Ezekiel? In other books dates and introductory formulas are the editor's delight—why not here? Why call Ezekiel "the first fanatic in the Bible" (Pfeiffer), or strain for a difficult explanation of his character when a simpler solution—the composite character of the book—is at hand? A motive is clearly discernible for the attempt at a Babylonian setting; Palestine is a much more likely place of origin. There may be little or nothing in this book from the prophet of the sixth century after Chapter 24. But Irwin's is not the final word, rather another contribution to a discussion that has yet to develop proofs of compelling and convincing clarity for what is now a growing probability: that much of Ezekiel belongs to a child or grandchild instead of to a father of Judaism.

CHARLES L. TAYLOR

Episcopal Theological School

The Case for Christianity. By C. S. Lewis.
New York: Macmillan, 1943, pp. 56.
\$1.00.

Mr. Lewis has a great gift—the gift of stating the case for Christianity very simply, persuasively, and uncompromisingly. Most people today are allergic to the language of theology and unable to believe the challenging and consoling truths of Christianity. But many are unhappy in their incredulity and wish to be persuaded that Christianity is true. The more honest they are, the more suspicious they are of a “milk and water” Christianity, all promises and consolations, and of facile arguments that smack of wishful thinking. Mr. Lewis, partly because he is a layman and partly because he was a non-Christian for many years, knows his audience. He does not insult their intelligence. He does not do violence to the central tenets of Christianity in order to make them more attractive to the lazy or the indifferent. In language which any literate person can understand he carries his reader, step by step, into the heart of the Christian Gospel. He underlines the fact that it demands more of us than any other faith. He expounds its reasonableness without explaining away its mystery. He explains some of its central doctrines without making a fetish of doctrine. I know of no one in recent times who has presented the case for Christianity to the uninformed but intelligent layman more skillfully.

This small book, published in England under the title *Broadcast Talks*, consists of two series of radio talks. The first deals with “right and wrong as a clue to the meaning of the universe.” It notes the fact that all peoples, in all cultures and periods, have recognized some real distinction between right and wrong and taken it seriously. This fact cannot be explained merely in terms of “herd instinct”

or “social convention.” It implies a “religious” rather than a “materialistic” view of the universe and confirms the moralist’s conviction that “there’s nothing indulgent about the Moral Law. It’s as hard as nails” (p. 25).

The demands of the Moral Law set the stage for the Christian message of salvation, the theme of the second series, which is entitled “What Christians Believe.” Christianity is first described as a “dualistic” religious view, according to which God takes sides in the battle between right and wrong, in contrast to the “pantheistic” view in which the distinction between right and wrong finally disappears. The facts (and problems) of evil, freedom, repentance, incarnation and atonement are discussed and the reader is confronted with the Christian challenge. “Now is our chance to choose the right side. God is holding back to give us that chance. It won’t last for ever. We must take it or leave it” (p. 56).

Mr. Lewis inevitably runs the danger of over-popularizing. His homely illustrations, his use of the vernacular, his humor, his determination to be understandable to the most uninformed, are all useful, and hazardous. There is not much here to arouse in the reader a sense of awe. The exposition is serious but lacks the quality of high seriousness which is so compelling in the King James version of the Bible or in Pascal or St. Augustine. Mr. Lewis would certainly be the first to agree. He has started where most people live and has tried to get them to take the first essential step. Many churchgoers could read this book with profit, and their pastors should be able to help them take the next step. The book should also be of great value to the many laymen who have no church associations but who are groping for a faith to live by.

THEODORE M. GREENE

Princeton University

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

The Challenge of Israel's Faith. By G. Ernest Wright. University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. x + 108. \$1.50.

Religious literature of this sort is long overdue. Dr. Wright of McCormick Seminary is a thoroughly competent Old Testament scholar

who for several years has edited that useful and non-technical little quarterly, *The Biblical Archaeologist*. One listens with special respect and interest, therefore, when he speaks to us about the religious message of the Old Testament, and bids us read it, not merely for its

literary beauty or the historical picture it presents, but for the word of God that it trumpets forth. The book begins arrestingly with a free modern paraphrase of passages from the first few chapters of Isaiah. The point of the first chapter is that the receptive heart of the religious man must find "the Word behind the words." Succeeding chapters deal with historical crisis ("Choose You This Day"), obedience, the living God, God's people, and the outcome of history; in fact, the principal heads of biblical theology are treated in an interesting and relevant fashion.

In the "Postscript," Dr. Wright calls attention to a survey of 1,845 sermons published in the years 1914-1942, which indicates that only 55 made any important use of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah. Furthermore, he says, "our modern theologians are no longer primarily interested in the Bible. *They go to it, not to be taught by it, not to find in it criticism of their religion or of their system, but simply to find illustrations of this point or that.*" This is worth pondering. Let us hope that the present volume marks a turning of the tide.

S. E. J.

How to Read and Enjoy the Bible. By Maurice Clarke. Louisville: The Cloister Press, 1944, pp. viii + 72. \$1.00.

This work book, intended for church school teachers and other adults, the outgrowth of a course at the Kanuga Conference, ought to furnish interesting and delightful work for a study group. It deals with such subjects as "The Modern Approach to the Bible," "Modern Editions of the Bible," "Knowing the Beauty Spots," and "Tracing the Development of Its Great Ideas." The suggestions and questions are such as to stimulate the imagination. No attempt is made to deal with technical problems, and only one lesson, on the Parables of Jesus, is devoted to the New Testament. This course is intended to give a general view of the possibilities of bible study; more profound work can come later.

S. E. J.

Jewish Teaching on Peace. By Marcus Wald. New York: Bloch, 1944, pp. xx + 296. \$3.50.

Dr. Wald was born in Transylvania and is rabbi of a Jewish community in South Africa.

His book contains four parts, plus a list of extracts and references. Part I has to do with "Conditions Constituting the State of Peace," and much of it is taken up with a study of the concept of *shalom* in the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic literature. Part II, which is one of the most interesting sections of the book, deals with forces making for peace and working against peace. These are mostly psychological; for example, Rabbi Wald deals with forces in feeling and thinking, speaking, behavior and action. The third part studies "Peace as Taught by Jewish Mysticism." Rabbi Wald's approach throughout is religious and psychological: he aims to produce Israelites whose character will make for peace in all relationships. While the book is homiletical throughout, it shows massive learning and is a mine of rabbinical quotation.

S. E. J.

The Tale of a Wonderful Ladder. By Nathan A. Barack. New York: Bloch, 1943, pp. 176.

The wonderful ladder is the Jewish code of daily living, up which one may climb and get a view of the bigness of the universe. The writer, a Rabbi, treats in a series of disconnected articles the Jewish way of life in America today, and some of the situations facing American Judaism. The value of the book lies largely in the two articles on "Reconstruction" with which it begins, although the same theme is taken up now and again in what follows. In these chapters the writer acknowledges freely that Jews of today are no longer religious. They are eager to hear anti-Semitism denounced and Jewish nationalism promoted, but they are bored by sermons on God, or even on Jewish culture and history. They cannot pray because they do not know in their hearts to whom they pray. The sabbath and the dietary laws have no meaning for them. What they need is to press on to a maturer concept of God. What this concept will be, and the kind of prayer that will be offered when it is attained, is not made altogether clear. God is apparently to be unknowable and impersonal, yet one is to have a personal attitude towards Him. The new prayer will discard traditional forms, which generally ask for something personally and directly, and will be "an exhortation for the realization of our latent human powers as well

as an expression of our deep satisfaction in the role of those powers in the cosmic scheme" (p. 28). Jews are to remain Jews, preserving Jewish institutions. The sabbath will be observed in a fashion necessitated by modern industrial conditions, and "new ways for recapturing its beauty can be found. The dietary laws may not be observed in the same manner as in the past, but their essential meaning of purity, humanness, and discipline can be kept in new ways" (p. 74). It is the faith that this can be accomplished within Judaism which led the writer to become a Rabbi. In thus sweeping away what is decaying and envisioning the maturer philosophy into which yesterday's concepts are evolving he believes that he is fulfilling the work of a prophet (p. 16), as distinct from that of the priest, who in hours of rebirth like the present vainly tries to keep people fixed in the old ways.

F. J.

Interpreting Jewish Life. By Jacob Bosniak. New York: Bloch, 1944, pp. xviii + 155. \$2.00.

This book contains more biblical and Talmudic material than do most of the volumes of Jewish sermons that come across this reviewer's desk. The Christian reader will not fail to appreciate the charm of the haggadah that meets him here.

S. E. J.

Grand Man of God. By Van Rensselaer Gibson. Yonkers: Llewellyn Publications, 1944, pp. 132. \$3.00.

This affectionate appreciation of Bishop Freeman by a friend provides a good outline of the Bishop's life with illustrative quotations from sermons and speeches. However, it hardly provides that full length biography of its subject which his importance and his service to Christ and country deserve. We trust that such a biography will be forthcoming.

F. A. M.

A Preface to Prayer. By Gerald Heard. New York: Harpers, 1944, pp. xvi + 250. \$2.00.

This book is written particularly for those who for one reason or another have stopped praying. It is written by one who has had that experience but has come back to a life of prayer convinced that only through such a

life can a man understand the world in which he lives and cooperate fully with his fellow men. As such a piece of apologetics it is very valuable and is not only a good book for those just mentioned, but it is exceedingly helpful for priest and pastor who have to deal with such cases.

F. A. M.

The Ten Commandments in a Changing World. By Isaac Klein. New York: Bloch, 1944, pp. vxiii + 141. \$1.75.

This is an excellent study of the "Ten Words" by a rabbi who is now a chaplain in the Army. Prepared originally to be delivered as discourses for his fellow Jews, the material has been used by the author in such a way as to make it more widely useful. Indeed it seems to be certain that his experience as chaplain has helped him to understand the moral problems of the ordinary man, hence the general usefulness of this little book.

F. A. M.

The Histomap of Religion. By J. B. Sparks. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1944. \$1.00.

The Histomap of Religion is a wall map outlining in graphic form the origin and evolution of religion. It indicates the development of not only the world religions, but also the various "nature" faiths, and even the genesis of the great movements of Communism, Fascism and Nazi State-worship of today. It is a well printed, amazingly complete chart, packed with information, and should prove most useful for reference and study.

P. S. K.

Church and State in Education. By William Clayton Bower. University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. vi + 103. \$1.00.

This little volume contains five lectures delivered by Dr. Bower before the University of Virginia in the Fall of 1943.

The titles give an indication of the ground covered and the problems discussed: 1. An Old Problem in a New Setting. 2. The Educational Situation in America. 3. Fundamental Assumptions. 4. Toward a Constructive Solution: the School. 5. Toward a Constructive Solution: the Church. No one has a right to expect, in such a brief space, detailed discussions of the many and complicated problems that

come within this field. Dr. Bower realizes that probably better than any reviewer. But the outline is here and few significant events and problems are missed. The author's main contention is, that the separation of Church and State in education has not been due to antagonism to religion but to opposition to sectarianism, and that with the cooling off of sectarian prejudices and jealousies the time has come to take steps to persuade the State to restore religion as a vital element in our national culture, to a place in the curriculum of our schools.

He presents a strong case for it, but we have an uncomfortable feeling that he views present day sectarianism through rose-tinted spectacles. However, the religious education situation here in the United States against its background of world conditions demands that something be done about it, and Dr. Bower's book is a call to get busy, "Now." It ought to have a wide reading.

M. C.

God and His People. By Francis R. Godolphin and Ernest H. Salter. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1943, pp. ix + 204. \$1.25.

This is *Course A* in the Pastoral Series (begun by R. S. Chalmers), and it continues the content-centered method, set questions, and slight flexibility for grades four to twelve. The content is sound and the bibliography is excellent. It provides for 39 sessions and 4 quizzes on the Old Testament.

R. C. M.

The Scheme of Church Union in South India. London: Church Book Room, 7 Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, pp. 48. s. 1.

This is a statement favorable to the plan of union addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Anglican Communion, and bearing the signatures of some two dozen prominent Evangelicals of the Church of England.

P. V. N.

In the Steps of Moses. By Louis Golding. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1943, pp. vi + 556. \$2.50.

This is a very interesting and helpful attempt to make the experiences of Moses and the Hebrews real to the modern reader. The method employed is that of having the author

travel over the routes of the Exodus and Wanderings and, by the use of vivid imagination, picture what the experiences of the great leader and his people must have been. It is a successful help to the average reader of the Exodus narrative and should make him feel the true meaning of what is apt to be otherwise a dim and distant past. Archaeologists and historical critics may find fault here and there but not to any damaging extent.

F. A. M.

On Beginning from Within. By Douglas V. Steere. New York: Harpers, 1944, pp. xvii + 149. \$1.50.

The author tells us in his preface that these essays are "concerned with the intensification of the life of God in the individual hearts of men." It is a well worked out protest against collectivism as the sole cure for all the ills of the present world whether social or religious. He devotes one chapter to a "new set of devotional exercise" which has some very helpful suggestions. Altogether a real contribution has been made to basic Christian practice.

F. A. M.

A Commentary on the Holy Communion. By W. Tate Young. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1944, pp. 101, \$1.50.

This little book has arisen out of the author's experience in conducting the children's Eucharist in the Church School. It owes its chief value to this fact. It is to be commended for its simplicity, its reverence and its putting first things first.

F. A. M.

Dreams Come True. By Charles R. Brown. New York: Macmillan, 1944, pp. 115. \$1.50.

The series of chapters which make up this book are really a group of meditations on the theme given in the title. They are simply written but so illustrated from Scripture and life that they can be exceedingly helpful if used in this way.

F. A. M.

Heritage and Destiny. By John A. Mackay. New York: Macmillan, 1943, pp. xii + 109. \$1.50.

The thesis of this book is that "we must cultivate once again the habit of retrospection.

Men must learn to look back if they are to succeed in moving forward." President Mackay believes that all depends upon the heritage which men choose. After stating the heritage to which Christians look back he develops the thesis with reference to the individual, culture, and the nation. He states that "the destiny of man is fulfilled in the sphere of history when God is chosen as his true heritage in personal, cultural, and national life."

The book is lucidly written, and puts forward with the greatest clarity some of the most valuable contributions of the "existential" neo-orthodox school of theology. Those who do not have the time nor the patience to work their way through some of the large books of Emil Brunner can be introduced to the heart of his thought by this little book. It is an admirable summary of many of the conclusions of our finest Christian thought by one who understands and feels the tragedy of the modern world.

R. S. M. E.

Beyond the Night. By Elmore McNeill McKee. Scribners, \$2.50.

Dr. McKee has written a book that has obviously grown out of the most intensive kind of religious teaching and pastoral work. It is not a book of sermons minus their texts. In fact I venture to think that Dr. McKee's sermons, like his book, grow out of the steady and continued activity and personal contacts of a wide-ranging parish ministry. The book is full of quotations as well as being quotable. It is and it will be, I think, a widely quoted book.

F. C. G.

The Promises of Christ and Other Sermons.

By Frank E. Wilson. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1944, pp. xii + 174. \$2.00.

Throughout his life the late Bishop of Eau Claire made a fine contribution to the Church's life by writing most helpful studies in Christian history, faith and worship. In this, his last gift to us, he has gathered some twenty sermons evidently chosen for the directness and practicality of their message. He probably had lay-readers in view and, if so, he certainly attained his end. They are all simple and interesting, with enough illustrative material to make them effective for average congrega-

tions. They are excellent also for devotional reading. Sermons suitable for lay-readers are not numerous and all should be grateful for the Bishop's thoughtful skill.

F. A. M.

Worship and the Common Life. By Eric Hayman. Cambridge University Press, 1944, pp. viii + 155. \$2.50.

Mr. Hayman's book is a plea for the "relevance of Quakerism" in the present world crisis—but a Quakerism which is fundamentally sacramental. He combats warmly current isolationist and humanist tendencies within the Society of Friends. Thus he seeks to perform a double *apologia*, one to his own communion, and the other to the ecumenical movement. His conception of sacrament is in terms of "a total integration of worship with the common life." "Quaker worship," he says, "is not a celebration—it is simply a more intense expression of daily living." This he sees as a reinforcement, not a weakening or challenging of the sacramental principle of the Church. There is food for thought here; and it will interest especially those who are giving a social interpretation to the historic sacraments of Christendom. In a re-united Church Mr. Hayman pleads, quite properly, for a place for the Friends, and he suggests the possibility of their recognition as an Order with a special vocation. Such an Order would be "exceptional," as he says; but ought it to be "unrepresentative" too? And how will it be preserved from isolationism and humanism? The work thus raises important questions. The reviewer confesses that he found the first half of the book, which surveys the present world situation, tiresome reading and not particularly original in thought; but the second half was definitely stimulating.

M. H. S., JR.

People, Church and State in Modern Russia.

By Paul B. Anderson. New York: Macmillan, 1944, pp. vii + 240. \$2.50.

The Religious Book Club of London could hardly have found a more competent person to report on the state of religion in Soviet Russia than the American Y.M.C.A. worker, Paul Anderson, who since World War I has been in constant and intimate contact both with the country and with the *émigrés* in Paris. He writes not as a man of library and study, but with the sureness and verve of one who has

himself been an observer on the battle-front. His method is to present the interactions of the Russian people, with their unconquerable Christian faith and their national memories, so largely Christian; the Soviet State, with its Marxian philosophy, modified, indeed, by the logic of history; and the Orthodox Church, reformed and rejuvenated in the midst of national crisis. He has a high regard for the new leadership of the Church and confidence in its future, in the new understanding it has been able to reach with the government. Certainly this is a most illuminating book and one full of encouragement for the friends of our Russian ally and of its Orthodox people.

P. V. N.

English Prayer Books: an Introduction to the Literature of Christian Worship. By Stanley Morison. Cambridge University Press, 1943, pp. viii + 143. \$1.75.

This is the first of a promising new series on "Problems of Worship," under the general editorship of the Deans of St. Paul's and Liverpool. It is eminently a scholars' book, its erudition evident on every page despite its avoidance of footnotes. Mr. Morison, a distinguished authority on the history and art of printing, with a special interest in things liturgical, describes the origin and development of liturgical books, manuscript and printed, particularly as used in England, from early times to the present. He has prepared a monograph which every serious student of the Anglican Prayer Book or the service books of the Roman Church owes it to himself to examine, for it is in effect a bibliographical history of liturgiology by a master-hand. Worthy of particular note are the specimens of recent "vocational services" for the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force. These have a refreshing vigor and directness which might profitably be emulated elsewhere.

P. V. N.

The Liturgy of the Church of Scotland since the Reformation. By Stephen A. Hurlbut. Part I. Calvin's Liturgy at Strasburg and Geneva. Washington: St. Albans Press, 1944, pp. viii + 32. \$1.10.

All those who have become acquainted with Mr. Hurlbut's work know it to be distinguished in scholarship, craftsmanship and taste. An author, printer and publisher all in one, he com-

bines the joy of a hobbyist and the devotion of a consecrated servant in a real labor of love. This latest venture, of which the first part is now available in paper binding, is as timely in its content as it is beautiful in its execution. W. D. Maxwell has so ably argued the original liturgical and sacramental interest of Calvinism. And now Mr. Hurlbut makes it visible to our very eyes by printing the original texts of Bucer's German and Calvin's French rites at Strasburg with the relevant parts of the *Scottish Book of Common Order*, 1564. As in his volume on *The Liturgy of the Church of England* the introduction and notes exhibit a discerning and dependable scholarship. The illustrations, especially the reproductions of 17th century drawings of Geneva and Strasburg, enhance the charm of the whole.

It is certainly gratifying, to say the least, to see workmanship such as this produced in the close of our Washington cathedral. For myself I treasure the opportunity I had of looking over the proof sheets of this brochure with Mr. Hurlbut in his study; and I am eagerly desirous of seeing the three parts which are to follow and complete the work. If you are a lover of the history of the liturgy, and also of a beautiful book, don't fail to write Mr. Hurlbut at once.

M. H. S., JR.

Let's Get to Know God. By Frances Brown Phelps. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1944, pp. viii + 127. \$1.50.

This is a little book of religious instructions on God, the Bible and the Church, written by a mother on the basis of her experiences with her own five children.

Other mothers will certainly find it helpful in their attempts to lead their children into the fulness of their religious heritage. It could well be used as supplementary material in church school groups. Contrary to the author's conviction, strong disapproval will be registered at the definition of a prophet as "a person who can guess what is going to happen"; at the use made of the story of Daniel in the den of lions; and at the statement concerning what happens at Confirmation: "a Bishop of the Church lays his hands on your head and . . . receives you into the Church." What is meant by the words in the Baptismal Office, "We receive this Child into the congregation of Christ's flock"?

M. C.

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